RICE $1.95

SEPTEMBER 26, 1986

CAMPUS ISSUE 1986

NATIONAL REVIEW

BACK TO COLLEGE HANDBOOK

The Conservative Agenda 1986-1987

Soc. 101

Wimp Wars:

Sensitivity vs. Free Speech on Campus

MARGARET ANNE GALLAGHER

Comp. Lit. 405

Bonzo Journalism:

Conservative Campus Newspapers

STEPHEN WEEKS

Pol. Sci. 206

Here Come the Feds:

The Battle for the Law Schools

CHARLES BORK

Classics 203

Making the Grade:

Catholic Schools Revive the Liberal Arts

TOM BETHELL

Other Courses With

CHARLES KESLER
DAVID SHIFFLETT
JEFFREY HART
DAVID FRUM

Critiques By

ARNOLD BEICHMAN
R. CORT KIRKLAND
JOSEPH SOBRAN
DAVID ROONEY

MG0710304809 0168 18 P 050 G
ROY E SMITH
PO BOX 1779
COLORADO SPGS CO 8 901

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A business meeting at the Four Seasons Hotel Boston.

The First Grand Hotel With Both Feet In The 20th Century.

Anyone who attends an out-of-town business meeting does so for the purpose of being highly productive—not hopelessly frustrated.

Which is why a hotel has to do whatever possible to ease the burdens and anxieties of travel—to allow you to focus single-mindedly on the business at hand.

And at Four Seasons, that's exactly what we do. We're a group of 20 grand hotels in North America's most important cities, sensitive to today's changing needs and lifestyles—on the belief that a grand hotel should adapt to its guests. Not the other way around.

We realize, for example, that it's difficult to be at your best when your clothes are wrinkled from a long flight. So we can help you with such services as pressing your clothes or shining your shoes in an hour.

We also realize that many people prefer to travel with only carry-on luggage. So our rooms are furnished with bathrobes, hair dryers and other essentials you might not be able to fit into a single overnight bag.

And we realize that people don't want to interrupt their healthy lifestyles when they're on the road. So we see to it that they don't have to—by providing workout gear and jogging maps in all our hotels, and state-of-the-art health clubs in most of them.

We realize, in short, that every time you depart from home, you're also departing from your normal routine. And our job is to do everything we can to keep that departure from turning into a disruption.

So unlike those hotels that seem to be overly preoccupied with recreating the atmosphere of bygone centuries, Four Seasons is preoccupied with the needs and demands of present-day travellers.

We assume, after all, that your idea of a successful business trip doesn't include travelling backwards in time.

UNITED STATES
Austin (1987)
Boston
Chicago:
The Ritz-Carlton
Dallas/Las Colinas:
The Mandalay;
Las Colinas Inn and Conference Center;
Four Seasons Fitness Resort and Spa.
Houston:
Four Seasons;
Inn on the Park
Los Angeles (1987)
New York:
The Pierre
Newport Beach
Philadelphia
San Antonio
San Francisco:
The Clift
Seattle:
The Olympic
Washington, D.C.
CANADA
Edmonton
Montreal
Ottawa
Toronto:
Yorkville;
Inn on the Park
Vancouver
UNITED KINGDOM
London:
Inn on the Park

Call (800) 268-6282 or your travel agent.

Four Seasons Hotels

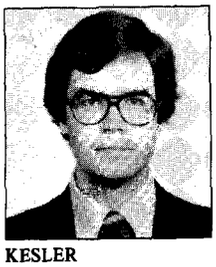
©1986 Four Seasons Hotels Ltd.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

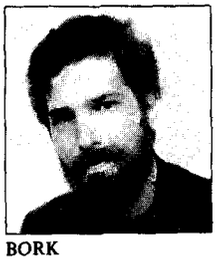
SEPTEMBER 26, 1986
VOL. XXXVIII, NO. 18

NATIONAL REVIEW

GALLAGHER


KESLER

WEEKS


BORK

CAMPUS 1986

28 A Tyranny of Pity
In the name of protecting racial and sexual minorities, liberal-arts colleges are suppressing intellectual dissent and fostering a culture of sissies. *Margaret Anne Gallagher*

33 Shanty Time
Rights, protests, and principles at Harvard. *Charles Kesler*

36 Notes from the Underground
They're young, they're hip, they're right-wing—meet the new campus journalists. *Stephen Weeks*

40 Orthodoxy and the Liberal Arts
A handful of new Catholic colleges offer a radical alternative: a liberal-arts education. *Tom Bethell*

44 The Battle for the Law Schools
Just when liberals and radicals thought they had the field to themselves, the Federalist Society stepped into the fray. *Charles Bork*

46 Southern Comfort
Look away from the Ivy League. Don't you wish your kids were in Dixie? *David Shifflett*

COLUMNS

24 Simon Boomlet
If the winds of fortune blow just right, the Democrats may turn to Paul Simon for President. Then again, they may not. *John McLaughlin*

25 The Arms-Control Morass
There's only one criterion for judging an arms-control agreement: Will it strengthen or weaken the free world? *Brian Crozier*

48 The Ivory Foxhole: First Sightings
To officials in the new totalitarian university, unauthorized humor is a capital offense, but death threats are just a joke. *Jeffrey Hart*

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

49 **Arnold Beichman** admires Romuald Spasowski's *The Liberation of One*, an insider's look at how the Soviet empire is crushing Poland while the West politely looks the other way. . . . The Soviets have come up with a new twist on war games, and they know just how to make journalists play: so says Ladislav Bittman, and **R. Cort Kirkwood** concurs. . . . **Wayne Lutton** urges conservatives to read Alston Chase's *Playing God in Yellowstone* and then go out and win one for the animals. . . . *Shepherds Speak*, edited by Dennis M. Corrado and James F. Hinchey, offers the concentrated *ennui* of liberal bishops striving for a moral pose that offends no one, **Joseph Sobran** maintains . . . **David Rooney** finds that Martin Marty's *An Invitation to American Catholic History* might better be titled *In Pluralism We Trust*. . . . *Kipling's India: Uncollected Sketches* contains unsuspected literary gems, says **Jeffrey Meyers**. . . . **Nika Hazelton** discovers what happened to 18 million pounds of pepper. . . . **D. Keith Mano** ponders the shortage of educated black men and comes up with a solution: miscegenation.

4 LETTERS
11 FOR THE RECORD
12 THE WEEK
34 help!
58 THE RIGHT BOOKS
62 ON THE RIGHT
66 TRANS-O-GRAM

Cover design by John C. Donnelly
Cover illustration by Bridget Taylor

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 1986. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile.

RATES: $34.00 a year (25 issues). Add $11.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor*
William A. Rusher *Publisher*
James P. McFadden
Consultant to the Editor

Editors
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Joseph Sobran

Richard Brookhiser *Managing Editor*
Linda Bridges *Executive Editor*
Richard Vigilante *Article Editor*
Chilton Williamson Jr. *Book Editor*
John McLaughlin *Washington Editor*

Associate Publisher
Edward A. Capano

Contributing Editors
Tom Bethell / Brian Crozier
Werner J. Dannhauser / W. H. von Dreele
Nika Hazelton / David R. Henderson
D. Keith Mano / Richard John Neuhaus
William F. Rickenbacker / John Simon
Ralph de Toledano / Ernest van den Haag
Timothy J. Wheeler

Associates
Maggie Gallagher / Peter Garvey
Jane Buckley Smith
Catherine Tangney / Stephen C. Weeks

Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Anna Lieber *Art Director*
Ione Whitlock *Production Editor*
Dorothy B. Humanitzki *Copy Editor*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*

Advertising Director
Robert F. Sennott Jr.

Circulation Manager
Sylvia Wolinsky

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr. / David Brudnoy
Christopher Buckley / James Burnham
John Chamberlain / Mona Charen
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Mary Gauerke / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Donald Hall
Malcolm Hancock / Henry Hazlitt
Charles R. Kesler / John Kiley
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Nicholas King
Jan Lukas / Kevin Lynch
Forrest McDonald / Charles Burton Marshall
Thomas Molnar / Gerhart Niemeyer
Michael Novak / Walter Olson
Grover Rees III / Joseph A. Rehyansky
Alan Reynolds / Selden Rodman
Francis Russell / Michael A. Scully
Terry Teachout / S. L. Varnado
Charles Wallen Jr.

Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*

LETTERS

Gay Positions

As glad as I was to see a reasonable appeal for tolerance of homosexuality written, albeit pseudonymously, by a conservative ["A Conservative States the Case for Gay Rights," by "John Woolman," Sept. 12], I am still puzzled by the apparent feeling of many conservatives that they must formulate a "position" on homosexuality. I had always thought that one of the most important tenets of conservative philosophy was that individuals had private spheres of their lives in which the government, or other people for that matter, had no right to interfere. While it certainly is absurd that homosexuals are now acquiring accredited-victim status through legislation, it is abhorrent that they be victimized because of their private sexual practices.

Oscar Chamberlain
Union City, N.J.

Regarding Richard John Neuhaus's column on the Supreme Court decision in the case of the Georgia sodomy law ["God Save This Vulnerable Court," Aug. 15], I think perhaps he has missed the point. The issue is not whether religion should influence public policy, but the *kind* of influence religion should have. Religious prohibitions are, broadly speaking, of two kinds: those based on general moral principles, which cross cultural and religious boundaries and can be justified on secular grounds, and those cultic prohibitions (which may or may not have had some original pragmatic intent), such as the Jewish prohibition against eating pork, whose justification lies solely in the claims of religious authority or Divine command. If, as many believe, the proscription of sodomy falls into the latter category, then the state ought not to be in the business of enforcing such a prohibition. It is appropriate for the state to enforce *moral* norms but not cultic ones.

Fundamentally, the objection to antisodomy laws rests on the notion that if the state is going to interfere with our private lives and personal freedoms, then it should have a cogent reason for doing so; more cogent than simply that it has done so in the past.

Roderick J. Thompson
Rochester, N.Y.

Virulent Strain

Your July 18 issue brought two more examples of the gleeful pleasure some conservatives seem to be taking in the current plight of the gay community: Michael Fumento's review of *AIDS in the Mind of America* and Chilton Williamson's review of *Are Gay Rights Right?* As an Old Right conservative, I feel I must point out that the AIDS epidemic and "gay rights" pose as much of a problem for thinking conservatives as for homosexuals.

When I adopted the label "conservative" for myself, it had, for me, no religious or moral overtones. It was essentially a political view that the proper role of government was to defend the citizenry from enemies, foreign and domestic, and to leave us otherwise alone. In terms of "gay rights," this would mean to me that the government truly has no business forcing someone to rent to gays, but it would also mean that the government has no business making a crime of gay sex done in private between consenting adults. It would mean, too, that while individuals should be free to discriminate on the basis of their own moral view of homosexuality, the government, at any level, should not. My Old Right conservatism took the time-honored view that government should only do for (and to) individuals what they could not do for themselves.

Spencer Thomas
San Francisco, Calif.

Helms a-Poppin'

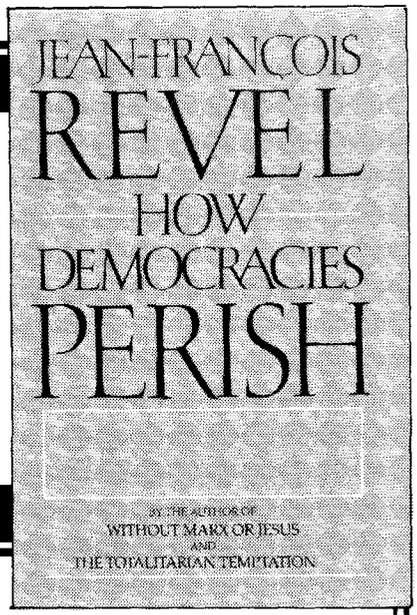
Anent "Letter from Washington" [Aug. 15], I cannot identify "Cato," but whoever he is, he certainly hasn't talked with me to get my side of the Chile issue. I also found interesting the number of my unidentified critics who were quoted. If I'm so wrong, why give anonymity to them?

But, apart from the names of his informants, there were some other omissions in Cato's report that startled me:

1. The trouble with "State's call for an independent investigation" was that State called for it several days *after* State is bound to have known that precisely such an investigation was ordered the day after the incident by the independent judiciary in Chile (which, by the way, is not answerable to the Pino-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This is the book Jeane Kirkpatrick quoted in her stirring address to the Republican convention



Do you remember her words? "The American people know that it is dangerous to blame ourselves for terrible problems we didn't cause. They understand, just as the distinguished French writer, Jean-Francois Revel, understands the danger of endless self-criticism and self-denigration. He wrote: 'Clearly, a civilization that feels guilty for everything it is and does will lack the energy and conviction to defend itself.' "

That, briefly, is the kernel of this classic study of Western malaise. The Kremlin is playing the liberal West like a fiddle. Revel expands his analysis with several key points:

- ☐ Liberal democracies are *by nature* flabby. If liberal intellectuals hesitate to admit this — well, the Communists are in no hurry to embarrass them.
- ☐ Soviet disinformation *seeks out* the soft spots in our liberals. And finds them, all the time.
- ☐ Revel analyzes the soft spots, shows *how* the Soviets zero in on them.
- ☐ How the Communists plot — yes, *plot* — for world domination. Why they've been winning ever since Yalta.
- ☐ Case histories: how the left-liberals paved the way for these Red victories.
- ☐ Liberal foreign policy: the intellectual roots.

But shouldn't we take comfort from the internal problems of the Soviets? Revel calls this an illusion. *One* of us, he points out, will collapse first. But we fail to exploit Communist weaknesses. They not only exploit ours, they *cause* some of them.

The fresh perspective of a European neoconservative

Revel pours out nourishing ideas about the great struggle:

- ✓ Grim scenario: two fairly simple strategic moves that would make Russia the West's master — and no nukes necessary.
- ✓ How a key Russian diplomat handled Kissinger — with success.
- ✓ Lenin's game plan: extensive quotes from the evil genius on how to conquer the West.
- ✓ 12 pet illusions about the USSR cherished by Western liberals.
- ✓ A new kind of Soviet leader? "The longer Soviet communism lasts, the more expansionist it becomes," Revel reminds those who think it's mellowing.
- ✓ Moscow's setbacks. Revel says they cheer him — but also give him pause.

☆ How to get this $17.95 book FREE ☆

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin, which offers the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, NY 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send me, FREE and postpaid, Jean-Francois Revel's riveting new book, *How Democracies Perish*. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

NR-105

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Great Tradition Faithfully Preserved

THE MADISON℠

Washington's Correct Address℠

THE MADISON HOTEL
15th & M Streets, Northwest
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 862-1600 (800) 424-8577
Telex: 64245

Marshall B. Coyne

chet government; it often rules against the government). The equivalent of a special prosecutor was appointed days before State's sanctimonious "call" for an investigation. And as indicated by recent news accounts, buried on the inside pages of the press and unmentioned by the TV networks, that independent prosecutor is effectively doing his job.

2. I didn't "insinuate" anything about President Reagan. What I said, and it is a matter of record, was that if President Reagan had been in Chile with me, and heard and seen what I heard and saw, he would have sent Ambassador Barnes packing. The unidentified "State insider" of course didn't mention, nor did Cato, that I visited an hour or more with leaders of every democratic opposition party and faction. Every one of them, without exception, condemned the ambassador, and stated that he was making bad matters worse. Most of these leaders are anti-Pinochet, but *all* of them said that 1) Pinochet is honest, 2) he's an effective leader, 3) his government is virtually free of corruption, and 4) there is a war in progress in Chile between the Communists and the anti-Communists.

3. So no one is "defending Jesse publicly"—big deal! I've suggested to several of my friends that they stay out of it. No point in their being excoriated by the major media *and* Cato. Besides, time will prove whether I was right, and I have plenty of time. In any case, whatever my many faults, one of them is not shrinking from taking a position certain to provoke violent criticism of me.

My differences with the State Department, Ambassador Barnes, and the media mainly involve a refusal by all of them to give both sides of the situation in Chile.

Jesse Helms
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Titanic Error

The item in "The Week" [Aug. 29] on Robert Ballard's second expedition to the wreck of the *Titanic* eloquently underscored the many little tragedies that compose the *Titanic* disaster. However, you added one tragedy too many—it was not the Cunard liner *Carpathia* that is supposed to have sat listlessly ten miles away, watching the *Titanic* frantically fire distress rockets, but the Leyland liner *Californian*. The *Carpathia* picked up the *Titanic*'s CQD about an hour after the *Titanic* struck the fatal iceberg, and immediately her captain, Arthur Rostron, put his aging ship about and pushed her over the intervening 56 miles at a pace that had the *Carpathia*'s boilers rocking on their beds. The *Carpathia*'s headlong charge in the night still stands as one of the bravest of maritime rescue operations, and even though she failed to reach the *Titanic* before the great liner sank, she still skillfully managed to pick up all the survivors.

However, there has always been controversy over whether the "mystery ship" visible from the deck of the stricken *Titanic* was even the unhappy *Californian*. The evidence suggests she was too far away to have been the "mystery ship." Perhaps we shall never know who that ship was.

Allen C. Guelzo
Philadelphia, Pa.

Macho Narco Mucho Loco

Regarding George Byram Lake's article, "Who Killed Kiki Camarena?" [Aug. 29], think of what might happen if our trampling of Mexican sovereignty continues to the point where we are actually successful in eradicating drugs south of the border.

The already shaky Mexican economy and political system will be completely devastated by the elimination of the cash crop that has been bringing employment to the *campesinos*, policemen, and politicians. To stem the misery caused by

SWORD OR SHIELD?

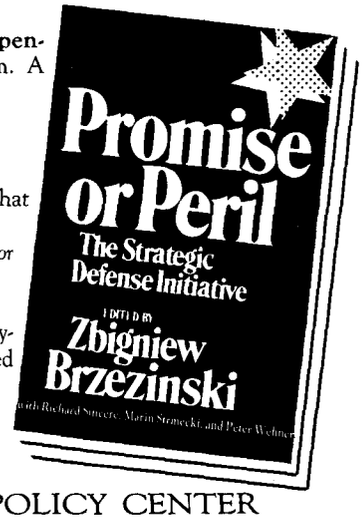
The 35 selections in this comprehensive new anthology reflect both the history of strategic defense thinking and a wide range of views on the contemporary debate. Included are essays and speeches by **Winston Churchill, Alexei Kosygin, Robert McNamara, Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, Harold Brown, Charles Krauthammer, Robert Jastrow, Mikhail Gorbachev, Ronald Reagan,** and many others.

492 pages ◆ Cloth $22 ◆ Paper $14

"An even-handed and comprehensive compendium of responsible views across the spectrum. A valuable contribution."
— STROBE TALBOTT
Washington Bureau Chief, Time

"An important and illuminating work that reflects a remarkable depth of expertise."
— EDWARD N. LUTTWAK, *Author*
The Pentagon and the Art of War

"Essential reading for defense experts, the policy-making community, and every one of our elected representatives."
— DONALD RUMSFELD
Former Secretary of Defense



ETHICS AND PUBLIC POLICY CENTER
1030 Fifteenth Street N.W. ◆ Washington, D.C. 20005 ◆ (202) 682-1200

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How to Become a "Black Belt" in Verbal Self-Defense

For anyone who's ever been pulverized by put-downs, rankled by reproaches, or irritated by insinuations, here's a revolutionary book that devotes itself *completely* to tactics of verbal self-defense. *The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense* teaches you how to defend yourself *diplomatically* in delicate family situations and in the hard-nosed business world. And this book is so thorough and easy-to-understand that you can read it once and become the kind of person everybody admires—the person who stays unruffled during confrontations, who always says the right thing, and who enjoys good relations with everyone.

Stop Them with a Few Words

This book explains the various ways that people will try to bait you and then it tells you how to *stop* them with a few carefully chosen words. It trains you to defend yourself with a simple eloquence that will subdue your verbal opponents. And it shows you how and when to use blunt honesty, agreement, humor, flattery, and distraction.

Keep Cool During Arguments

The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense also helps you avoid the self-defeating, overly emotional attitudes that many people assume during arguments. Once you've read this book, you'll *never again* lose an argument by being sullen, uncontrollably angry, peevishly defensive, or apologetic. You'll have gained enough savvy not to be thrown by hostile remarks.

Learn to Handle *All* Attacks

The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense covers all the types of verbal attacks and attackers you're likely to encounter. And it explains both attacks and defenses with helpful features like these:

- The 8 Types of Verbal Attacks
  (and how to fight them.)
- The 4 Principles of Verbal Self-Defense
  (from *knowing* you are under attack to *following through* with your counter-attack.)
- The 5 Personalities & How They Communicate
  (Is your boss a "leveller?" Is your mother a "blamer?" Is your husband a "distracter?")
- Dialogues that Show Effective & Ineffective Defense Strategies
- Instructions on Voice Control & Body Language

These features will teach you how to deal with all types of people, including bullying bosses, backbiting coworkers, guilt-producing mothers, nagging wives, condescending husbands, and many others. And you'll discover how to counter *all* the varieties of verbal abuse — from subtle put-downs to out-and-out attacks.

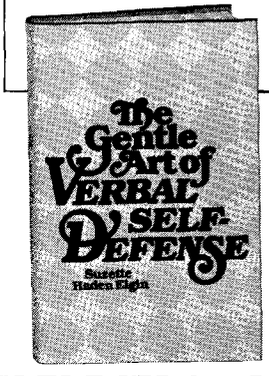
Save Yourself Years of Mistakes

The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense gives you a complete education in communication, an education that will improve the quality of your personal and professional relationships. On your own, it might take you years of trial and error, of fights and misunderstandings, to learn all the lessons of this book. So, why not wise up *now* by ordering your copy of the book today?

The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense, originally $12.95, now costs only $6.95. And, should you want to return the book, you can do so and have your money refunded with no questions asked.

About the Author

Psycholinguist Suzette Haden Elgin has presented her innovative self-defense principles in a variety of formats. She has given workshops and seminars all over the U.S., including verbal self-defense sessions for doctors, lawyers, and other professionals. Dr. Elgin has also created a self-defense tape and a training manual for people who teach her self-defense techniques.



310 PAGES

Pub. at $12.95

Only $6.95

Offer good only in continental U.S.A.

SINCE 1873
Barnes & Noble
BOOKSTORES

126 FIFTH AVE., DEPT. V198, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011

1295690. Please rush me_____copies of *The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense* at your special sale price of $6.95 (plus $.75 per book shipping and insurance). **N.Y., N.J., PA., MASS., res. add sales tax.**

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

© 1985 Barnes & Noble Bookstores, Inc.

30 Day Money-Back Guarantee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If you shouldn't climb stairs INSTALL AN *"Elevette*

"Elevette" – the modern home elevator – can carry three adults or a wheelchair patient and attendant. It's custom built to the size best suited for your needs and serves two or more floors of your home.

Tax deductible when recommended by a doctor.

SEND FOR FREE LITERATURE

Fully describes and illustrates "Elevette". Also, StairLIFT, the budget-priced, single-seat passenger lift for the stairs.

INCLINATOR COMPANY OF AMERICA
DEPT. 27
P. O. BOX 1557
HARRISBURG, PA 17105-1557

these displacements, we annex Mexico as the 51st state. Meanwhile, Rafael Caro Quintero relocates to the city of Boston, buys his children's way into Harvard, and thirty years from now the Commonwealth of Massachusetts will send one or more of them to the U.S. Senate, and maybe even to the Presidency . . .

If such were possible for certain rum-runners of the Prohibition era (who only made millions of dollars), why not the same for this new class of entrepreneurs who are making billions, their niche in the market having been created by the new Prohibition?

Our friendly Mexican neighbors are doing nothing more than providing our people with something for which they are obviously willing to pay. By making that commodity illegal, we are providing lawbreakers with the most effective price-support system going. Why do we enrich a class of criminals whose legitimacy is ultimately assured in proportion to their enrichment?

Gary R. Kevorkian
Granby, Conn.

Dope

In calling for the legalization of cocaine ["Bolivia and the Home Front," "The Week," Aug. 15], NATIONAL REVIEW has proven itself to be no more conscientious than the "corrupters" in seeking an end to the plague of drug abuse in the United States.

The economic reason cited for such a move—that legalization would slash the profits of drug suppliers—ignores the fact that the addictive nature of cocaine ensures an almost perfect inelasticity of demand. Junkies will pay any price for a fix, thereby shifting the profits from foreign corrupters to domestic ones.

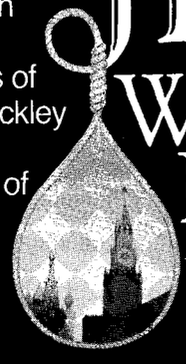
More perturbing is the lack of attention *NR* pays to the truism that legalizing hitherto immoral acts lends to them an approval which the new tempted would use to justify their behavior. People otherwise not inclined to sample drugs would do so under the logic that the social stigma attached to drug use no longer exists.

The real way to stop cocaine addiction and the profits derived from it is to attack the source. If coke is the national-security issue the Reagan Administration believes it to be, then our Latin neighbors ought to be pressured to cooperate, and, if necessary, the U.S. should consider defoliating the crops. That would be the brave approach. The weak approach is to suggest legalization, an idea no more valid than recommending legalizing prostitution to curb adultery.

Gerard Meuchner
Brooklyn, N.Y.

"Irresistible."
—Chicago Sun-Times Book Week

This time, Blackie's deadly game involves even Queen Caroline and Buckingham Palace. From a covert camp for killers to a KGB trysting nest in Stockholm to the tightly closed doors of the Kremlin, Bill Buckley unwinds a chilling, heart-stopping tale of high adventure... high treason... HIGH JINX.



HIGH JINX
William F. Buckley, Jr.
A novel with Blackford Oakes

DOUBLEDAY

A MAIN SELECTION OF THE LITERARY GUILD
At bookstores everywhere

Kuwait a Minute

As a professional Foreign Service Officer, I strongly object to parts of Tom Bethell's article "What George Shultz Could Learn from Don Corleone" [Aug. 11], especially his broad characterization of FSOs: "They themselves," Mr. Bethell says, "quite reliably do not believe in anything in particular."

If Mr. Bethell doesn't think FSOs firmly and unreservedly believe America and its institutions of democracy are the best in the world, he is gravely mistaken. Of course we have liberals in our ranks, so what? I even have some liberal friends among my colleagues. But I also have a number of colleagues who, like me, voted for Ronald Reagan and believe the President and George Shultz are doing a superb job.

We all give the best advice we can before a policy decision is made, but once that decision is made we carry it out to the very best of our ability, whether we agree or not, because we believe in loyalty to the Secretary and the President regardless of party.

Frank E. Rhinehart
U.S. Embassy
Kuwait

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Overcrowded classes. Where bigger isn't better.

Imagine trying to divide your time equally among 30 or 40 employees a day.

This is the daily dilemma teachers face in overcrowded classrooms. They must spend more time with the low achievers, extra time with the brightest students, leaving little time for the rest of the class.

In most schools, a student gets hours of daily instruction. But when a child needs special encouragement or one-on-one teaching, she or he is lucky to get ten minutes of individual attention a day.

Regardless of grade level or ability, students achieve more as class size is reduced. A student in a class of 40 will score 10 points lower on national tests than the same student would in a class of 20.

We've also seen that smaller classes decrease discipline problems. And they increase a student's self-esteem while also increasing a teacher's job satisfaction.

Reducing class size is a primary goal of the NEA. We know it is one of the surest ways of getting education back in the picture and on the track of excellence. And that is our goal.

In over 128 years, that's never wavered. We stand for excellence in every classroom, for every child.

nea

National Education Association

THE SUBJECT IS EXCELLENCE

©1986 National Education Association

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW TO CREATE A COUNTRY WITHOUT A KING

THE BIGGEST POLITICAL STORY OF THE LAST 200 YEARS

Nations have different strengths. Military or industrial might. Mineral wealth. Population for some, sheer size for others. History teaches us, however, that character survives, principles last. The government of the United States of America is now one of the oldest on Earth and, by any measure, surely one of the best.

The U.S. Constitution set forth the principles which embody the character of this nation. And as we near the bicentennial of this great document, it is clear: The more we understand the principles of freedom it set forth, the more surely those principles will endure.

In this spirit, General Motors is proud to present, on the CBS Network, Part II of the life of George Washington: The Forging of a Nation.

Based on James Thomas Flexner's Pulitzer Prize biography, it shows how Washington proved that a country could have a head of state who was not a king. Personal and political currents swirled around him. Thomas Jefferson's concern for individual rights clashed with Alexander Hamilton's support for a strong central government. The French were demanding that our new government take their side against England. At the same time there was open rebellion in the countryside and bitter criticism in the press.

The principles of freedom were being tested by reality. And through it all, Washington's moderate approach to the Presidency was defining the role of Chief Executive for the generations to come.

History makes perspective possible. With the present and future in mind, General Motors is proud to present this period of the American past. It is human, dramatic, and without question, the biggest political story of the last 200 years.

We hope you and your family will join us on Sunday, September 21st and Monday, September 22nd for the General Motors Mark of Excellence presentation, **George Washington: The Forging of a Nation.**

GEORGE WASHINGTON
★ THE FORGING OF A NATION ★

Sunday and Monday, September 21 and 22 on CBS

Barry Bostwick and Patty Duke return in their roles as George and Martha Washington

---

This advertisement is part of our continuing effort to give customers useful information about their cars and trucks and the company that builds them.

GM
MARK OF EXCELLENCE

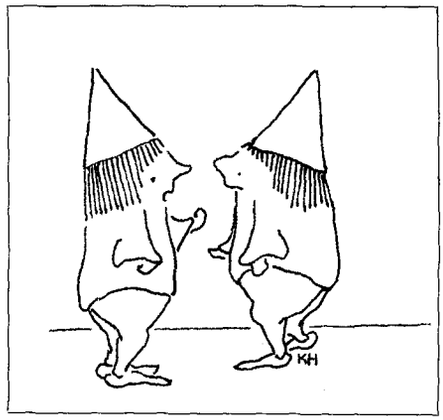
Chevrolet • Pontiac
Oldsmobile • Buick
Cadillac • GMC Truck

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

What are people thinking about the hot political issues of the moment? Committee on the Present Danger has released a **Penn-Schoen** rundown that shows 70 per cent support for **Ronald Reagan**'s decision to can SALT II. Sixty-nine per cent of the people believe Soviet Union is violating existing arms-control agreements, and 68 per cent believe it could not be trusted to honor any new agreement that might be reached. Finally, 53 per cent believe **Mikhail Gorbachev** is neither more nor less trustworthy than earlier Soviet leaders. . . . **NBC News** poll on South Africa finds only half the American people think they know enough about South Africa to have an opinion on it. Of that number, 51 per cent favor a trade embargo (40 per cent oppose one), even though 62 per cent don't think such an embargo will bring an end to apartheid, and 63 per cent believe it will hurt South African blacks economically. . . . In the 1988 presidential stakes, a Penn-Schoen poll shows **George Bush** beating **Mario Cuomo** by 27 points and **Gary Hart** by eight, while a **Gallup** finds Bush and **Lee Iacocca** neck and neck. Same Gallup puts Cuomo now number three behind Hart and Iacocca among Democrats. . . . On Republican side, latest Republican preferential-poll figures (Gallup) show Bush 53 per cent, **Robert Dole** 16, **Howard Baker** 12, **Alexander Haig** ten, **Jack Kemp** nine.

California Republicans hoping presidential visit later this month will boost sagging campaign of Republican senatorial candidate **Ed Zschau**, who now trails incumbent Sen. **Alan Cranston** by 13 points. While **David Boaz**, vice president of the libertarian **Cato Institute**, finds Zschau a perfect libertarian candidate in his anti-big-government stands, Zschau has offended California conservatives by his stands on abortion (pro-choice), SALT II (keep it), and Daniel Manion (opposed nomination).



"Are bishops separate from church or state?"

Zschau scored 57 on brand-new ACU rating list. Average conservative rating among House Republicans is 77, but Zschau's score still puts him 53 points ahead of Cranston (ACU: 4). . . . In other close Senate races, **Brock Adams** is closing on GOP Sen. **Slade Gorton** in Washington (38 to 42 per cent, Penn-Schoen), and Rep. **Tom Daschle** has pulled ten points ahead of GOP Sen. **Jim Abdnor** in South Dakota; but in Alabama, incumbent Republican **Jeremiah Denton** now leads Rep. **Richard Shelby** by healthy 49 to 36 per cent (*Birmingham News*/Capstone poll), and in Oklahoma, GOP Sen. **Don Nickles** leads Rep. **Jim Jones** 49 to 33, though gap has narrowed. . . . The big news for Republicans in gubernatorial races is in Texas, where former Gov. **Bill Clements** scored 44, to 32 for Democratic incumbent **Mark White**, in most recent Texas Poll. . . . In California, Republican Gov. **George Deukmejian** is 11 points ahead of **Tom Bradley** (**Mervin Field**), but the gap is narrowing, as it is in Illinois, where organization Democrats are now putting heft into sad-sack campaign of **Adlai III** against incumbent **James Thompson**.

Behold the newest Gay Divorcé, Libya's **Muammar el-Qaddafi**, ditched last week by King **Hassan** of Morocco just two years after they signed a treaty of unity. Hassan abrogated the treaty after Qaddafi called his meeting with Israeli Prime Minister **Shimon Peres** an "act of treason." In past 17 years, Qaddafi has signed treaties of unity with: Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Syria, and Sudan, all of which ended in divorce. . . . At the Non-Aligned jamboree in Harare last week, Zimbabwe's **Robert Mugabe** denounced Libyan raid and U.S. support for **Jonas Savimbi** as acts of "international bullyism" and shortly thereafter was informed that the international bully had cut off all further foreign aid. . . . In Nuremberg, the crazy Left of the West German Social Democratic Party voted in a platform calling for the end of nuclear power, the end of cooperation with the U.S. on SDI, and the removal of medium-range missiles from German territory. Net result: a broadened split in party ranks that could result in resounding victory for Christian Democratic Chancellor **Helmut Kohl** in national elections next January. . . . The new American tax overhaul is having repercussions in Europe. Belgian Finance Minister **Mark Eyskens** says U.S.-style tax reform will be a priority for his government in the months ahead, and West German Finance Minister **Gerhard Stoltenberg** is planning tax reform to alter the steep progressivity of German tax structure, which "hits middle-income workers particularly hard." . . . Professors at universities in Ecuador, Argentina, and Venezuela are donating a day's pay to the Sandinistas to offset the U.S. contribution to the Contras, according to *People's Daily World*. . . . And in Milwaukee, **Ed Asner** celebrated seventh anniversary of Sandinista victory by explaining that *La Prensa* was shut down not because "it criticized the government but because it printed lies about potential shortages and alleged social difficulties that sapped the people's morale."

Cultural event of the season for the hard Left was performance in St. Paul last week of *Canta General* (*A Song of the People*): readings from the poetry of **Pablo Neruda**, the great Chilean Communist poet, put to music by **Mikis Theodorakis**, the great Greek Communist composer, and dedicated to (you guessed it) the late great Swedish appeaser, **Olof Palme**.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

☐ Guess who's worrying about Clint Eastwood as President? *Izvestia.*

☐ ANNALS OF THE PERMANENT GOVERNMENT: It may seem incredible, but the Reagan Administration's Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is now sniping at the Brookings Institution from the *left.* Brookings put out a study showing that the EPA's rules on auto pollution are unduly strict and could be relaxed at no perceptible cost to human health. Reagan appointee Lee Thomas replied sharply in a letter to the *Washington Post* that "The Brookings study clearly has understated benefits [of regulation] and exaggerated costs," and added—in a classic Carter-era formulation that environmentalists use when they have failed to prove their case—that "Where we face uncertainties, errors should be made on the side of protecting human health." Catalytic converters may not capture 99 per cent of auto emissions, but the EPA bureaucracy does manage to capture 99 per cent of its political overseers.

☐ Remember Barbara Foley—the Professor of English at Northwestern University who shouted down Contra leader Adolfo Calero in a university meeting hall in April 1985 and afterward remarked that he was lucky to "get out of here alive"? [See "A Tyranny of Pity," p. 28.] Professor Foley was denied tenure by Northwestern's administration, overriding a positive vote by her colleagues in the English Department. It may be too early to congratulate Northwestern on the success of its principled defense of free speech and academic freedom: The American Association of University Professors has written to President Weber requesting him to reconsider his decision, and a possibility exists for litigation. Still, as the situation stands, Professor Foley has but one more academic year in which to lecture Northwestern students on the "fetishization of social relations that characterizes what Lukacs called the 'problem of commodities' in the early twentieth century" and the "liberal racism" of Mark Twain, before the administration's defoleyation program takes effect.

☐ The Justice Department, not previously known for pusillanimity, has dropped plans to propose Professor Lino Graglia for the Federal Appeals Court in New Orleans. Professor Graglia was mistreated in the usual way. Because he opposes busing, he is of course a racist. He has a lively mind, and he speaks it, and is, therefore . . . eccentric. He has doubts about the extended application of the Fourteenth Amendment, and so is reactionary. The miscreant actually wrote an article for NATIONAL REVIEW, which shows the kind of company he keeps. He is "an extremist," "insensitive," and, alas, very brilliant. The Administration appears to have been intimidated by the political forces that carried one state in the last election. Come on, Ed. Not many senators are going to vote against an Italian these days.

☐ Governor Mario Cuomo sees a vacuum in public education: We aren't teaching "values." He promised to make "sparks fly" with his new idea, though he hastened to explain that he wasn't talking about "religious" values (such as life, presumably). Except for "love thy neighbor," the Guv didn't get too specific. His sunburst came aboard his plane in a conversation with reporters, and made page one of the *New York Times.* Amazing what a fast talker can pull on a slow news day.

☐ You may remember Joe Mauri as the star of *The Man from Fifth Avenue,* a Soviet documentary about the jobless and homeless of America (see "The Week," Sept. 12). The press reported that Joe actually had two apartments and a job that could pay upwards of $35,000 a year if he chose to work at it full time. Well, Joe has given an interview to say a) one of the apartments belongs to his estranged wife, b) he never really *said* he was jobless, and c) he didn't control the final cutting of the film. So did the experience teach Joe anything about trusting the Soviets? Well, he just got back from a free tour of the Soviet Union, and he gave the interview in the apartment of a Soviet journalist.

☐ The United States Navy, which is about the biggest shipper in the world, complains that moving its cargo in U.S. vessels is too expensive. It wants to turn the job over to foreign free-enterprisers. The only half hitch is, the protectionists in Congress, in a game effort to keep U.S. bottoms monopolistic, overpaid, uncompetitive, and helpless, passed a law requiring its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BRAVO! BRAVO! BRAVO!

331488-391482. Bach: Brandenburg Concertos, 1 to 6 (complete)—Kapp, cond. (Counts as 2—*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

343251. Bach: Goldberg Variations—Glenn Gould (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

330647. Bach: Unaccompanied Cello Suites 1, 2—performed by Yo-Yo Ma (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

336578-396572. Bach: Flute Sonatas—Rampal, flute; Pinnock, harpsichord, etc. (Counts as 2—*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

344580. Bach: Toccatas—Peter Hurford, organist (*Digital*—Argo)

342329. Bartok: Miraculous Mandarin (complete ballet); **Music For Strings, Percussion & Celesta**—Dorati, Detroit Sym. (*Digital*—London)

338004-398008. Beethoven Piano Sonatas—Moonlight, Appassionata, Tempest, 3 more. A. Brendel (Counts as 2—Vox Cum Laude)

345199. Beethoven: Overtures (*Egmont; Fidelio; Leonore 1, 3;* etc.) Colin Davis, Bavarian Radio Orch. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

341982-391987. Beethoven: Sonatas for Piano & Violin, Vol. I—Eugene Istomin & Isaac Stern (Counts as 2—*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

343137. Beethoven: Symphonies Nos. 1 & 2—Hogwood, Acad. of Ancient Music (*Digital* L'Oiseau-Lyre)

344119. Beethoven and Mozart: Quintets For Piano & Winds—Perahia, soloists English Chamber (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

335547. Berlioz: Symphonie Fantastique—Barenboim, Berlin Phil. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

263293. Bolling: Suite For Flute and Jazz Piano—Rampal, flute; Bolling, piano (CBS Masterworks)

344499-394494. Brahms: A German Requiem; Alto Rhapsody; etc.—soloists, London Philharmonic under Klaus Tennstedt (Counts as 2—*Digital*—Angel)

340588. Brahms: Piano Concerto No. 2—Vladimir Ashkenazy; Haitink, Vienna Phil. (*Digital*—London)

332668. Brahms: Symphony No. 1—Tennstedt, London Philharmonic (*Digital*—Angel)

344143. Chopin: Preludes, Op. 28—Vladimir Feltsman (CBS Masterworks)

339374. Chopin: Piano Concerto No. 2; Schumann: Piano Concerto—Andras Schiff; Dorati, Amsterdam Concertgebouw (*Digital*—London)

335679. Debussy: La Mer; Nocturnes—Andre Previn, cond. London Symphony (*Digital*—Angel)

343525. Dvorak: Sonatina in G; Smetana: From My Homeland; etc.—Itzhak Perlman & Samuel Sanders (*Digital*—Angel)

341214. Haydn: Symphony No. 100 (Military), **No. 104** (London)—Hogwood, cond. (*Digital*—L'Oiseau-Lyre)

334508. Mahler: Symphony No. 1 (Titan)—Muti cond. Philadelphia Orch. (*Digital*—Angel)

329094-399097. Mahler: Symphony No. 2 (Resurrection)—Lorin Maazel, Vienna Phil. (Counts as 2—*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

318824. Mendelssohn: Symphony No. 4 (Italian); **Schumann: Symphony No. 4**—Tennstedt, Berlin Phil. (*Digital*—Angel)

332114. Mussorgsky: Pictures At An Exhibition; Borodin: Polovtsian Dances—Ashkenazy, Philharmonia Orch. (*Digital*—London)

341297. Prokofiev: Symphony No. 1 (Classical); **Love For Three Oranges Suite**—Lorin Maazel, cond. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

324822. Ravel: Bolero; Rapsodie Espagnole; La Valse; etc.—Maazel cond. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

340190. Reich: The Desert Music—M. Tilson Thomas, members Brooklyn Philharmonic (*Digital*—Nonesuch)

341677. Schubert: Symphonies 2 & 8 (Unfinished)—Barenboim, Berlin Phil. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

334771. Sibelius: Symphonies No. 4 and 7—Berglund, Helsinki Philharmonic Or. (*Digital*—Angel)

310870-390872. Johann Strauss' Greatest Waltzes—*Blue Danube*, others. Ormandy, Szell, Bernstein (Counts as 2—Columbia)

341610. Strauss, Richard: Der Rosenkavalier Suite; Die Frau Ohne Schatten—Dorati, Detroit Symphony Orch. (*Digital*—London)

343715. Vivaldi: Four Seasons—Maazel, members Orch. National de France (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

323147. Wagner: Orchestral Music from "The Ring"—Sir Georg Solti, Chicago Sym. (*Digital*—London)

338814. Webber: Requiem—with Domingo, Brightman, Winchester Cathedral Choir, Maazel, English Chamber Orch. (*Digital*—Angel)

COLLECTIONS

332494. An International Salute. E. Kunzel, Cincinnati Pops play Tchaikovsky, Gould, Sibelius, Liszt, etc. (*Digital*–Vox Cum Laude)

334276. Canadian Brass & Berlin Phil. Brass—Brass in Berlin. Bach, Pachelbel, Gabrieli, etc. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

341602. Jose Carreras—French Opera Arias. Arias from *Le Cid, Faust, Carmen,* etc. (*Digital*—Angel)

337279. Placido Domingo—Save Your Nights For Me. *Love Came For Me; Maria;* etc. (CBS)

344556. Greatest Hits Of The 1900's. Barber *Adagio;* Faure *Pavane;* others. Kapp, Philharmonia Virtuosi (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

246843. Vladimir Horowitz—New Recordings Of Chopin. (Columbia)

343624. Wynton Marsalis Plays Trumpet Concertos. Haydn, Hummel, L. Mozart (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

331959-391953. Mormon Tabernacle Choir—Great Choruses of Bach and Handel. (Counts as 2—CBS Masterworks)

327551. Luciano Pavarotti—Mamma. Popular Italian songs (*Digital*—London)

339242. Puccini Heroines. Eva Marton, Renata Scotto, Katia Ricciarelli, others (CBS Masterworks)

344135. Jean-Pierre Rampal—A Night At The Opera. Music by Massenet, Gluck, Mozart, etc. Placido Domingo sings & conducts (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

339853. Kiri Te Kanawa/Nelson Riddle & His Orch.—Blue Skies. Best-selling album! (*Digital*—London)

340562. Waverly Consort—Renaissance Favorites. Morley, Gibbons, Byrd, etc. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

ANY 11 RECORDS OR TAPES $1.00

plus shipping and handling

if you join now and agree to buy 8 selections (at regular Club prices) in the next 3 years

325183. Dvorak: Symphony No. 9 (New World)—Solti, Chicago Symph. Orch. (*Digital*—London)

333526-393520. Dvorak: Slavonic Dances; etc. Dorati, Royal Phil. (Counts as 2—*Digital*—London)

339226. Gershwin: Rhapsody In Blue; Second Rhapsody; etc.—M. Tilson Thomas, Los Angeles Phil. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

346015. Handel: Royal Fireworks Music; more—Malgorie, LaGrande Ecurie & la Chambre duRoy (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

330142. Mendelssohn: Violin Concerto; Saint-Saens: Concerto No. 3—Cho-Liang Lin; violinist; Thomas, Philharmonia Orch. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

328740. Mozart: Piano Concerto 26; Rondos—Perahia, Eng. Chamber Or. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

338723. Mozart: Requiem—Hogwood cond. soloists, chorus, Acad. of Ancient Music (*Digital*-L'Oiseau-Lyre)

339663. Pachelbel: Kanon—also Bach, Albinoni, etc. Munchinger, Stuttgart Chamber (*Digital*—London)

334540. Rachmaninoff: Piano Concerto No. 2; Rhapsody On A Theme Of Paganini—Cecile Licad; Abbado, Chicago Symph. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

341735. Rimsky-Korsakov: Scheherazade—Charles Dutoit cond. Orchestre symphonique de Montreal (*Digital*—London)

331322. Saint-Saens: Carnival of the Animals; Prokofiev: Peter and the Wolf—I. Perlman, violin; K.&M. Labeque, pianists; Z. Mehta, Israel Philharmonic (*Digital*—Angel)

338244. Stravinsky: Rite Of Spring—Dutoit cond. Orchestre symphonique de Montreal (*Digital*—London)

336461. Tchaikovsky: Violin Concerto; Serenade—Pinchas Zukerman; Zubin Mehta, Israel Philharmonic (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

334680. Tchaikovsky: Ballet Suites—Swan Lake, Sleeping Beauty—Muti, Phila. Orch. (*Digital*—Angel)

343244. Tchaikovsky: 1812 Overture; Marche Slave; Francesca da Rimini; etc.—Ozawa, Berlin Philharmonic (*Digital*—Angel)

Here's a wonderful opportunity to start or add to your collection of the world's greatest music—brilliantly performed by many of today's greatest artists. As a new member of the Columbia Classical Club, you get any 11 cassettes or records for only $1.00, plus shipping and handling. In exchange, you agree to buy just 8 more selections in the next three years, at regular Club prices (which currently are $7.98 to $11.98, plus shipping and handling; some multi-unit sets and special recordings may be somewhat higher.)

How the Club works: every four weeks (13 times a year) you'll receive our Music Magazine. It describes the "Classical Selection of the Month" *plus* scores of classical releases, as well as selections from other fields of music. In addition, up to six times a year you may receive offers of Special Selections, usually at a discount off regular Club prices, for a total of up to 19 buying opportunities.

There is no obligation to accept the "Selection of the Month"—you order *only* the recordings you want *when you want them!* A special response card will be enclosed with each Magazine—mail it by the date specified to order or reject any selection. And if you want *only* the "Selection of the Month", do nothing—it will be shipped automatically. You'll have at least ten days in which to make your decision—if you ever have less time than that, just return the Selection at our expense. And you may cancel membership anytime after buying 8 selections, or continue under our money-saving bonus plan.

10-Day Free Trial: we'll send details of the Club's operation with your introductory shipment. If you are not satisfied for any reason, return everything within 10 days—your membership will be canceled and you will owe nothing.

Special Start-Your-Membership-Now Offer: you may *also* choose your first selection now—and we'll send it to you for at least 60% off regular Club prices (only $2.99). This discount purchase reduces you membership obligation immediately—you then need buy just 7 more (instead of 8) in 3 years. Just check box in application and fill in the number of your first selection.

NOTE: selections with two numbers are 2-record sets or double-length tapes. Each of these "double selections" counts as 2—so write in both numbers. © 1986 Columbia House

COLUMBIA CLASSICAL CLUB, Columbia House, Terre Haute, IN 47811

Please accept my membership application under the terms outlined in this advertisement. Send me the 11 classical selections listed here for only $1.00, plus shipping and handling. I agree to buy eight more selections (at regular Club prices) in the coming three years—and may cancel membership at any time after doing so.

Send my selections in this type of recording (check one):
☐ TAPE CASSETTES ☐ STEREO RECORDS

☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Miss _____ (Print First Name) _____ (Initial) _____ (Last Name)

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Do you have a VCR? (check one) ☐ Yes ☐ No 782/F86

Do you have a credit card? (check one) ☐ Yes ☐ No

This offer is not available in APO, FPO, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico; please write for details of alternative offer.

☐ **Also send my first selection for at least a 60% discount** for which I will be billed an additional $2.99. I then need buy only 7 more (instead of 8) at regular Club prices, in the coming three years.

All applications subject to review; Columbia House reserves the right to reject any application.

SEND ME THESE 11 SELECTIONS

☑ Classical

7QH/ME 7QJ/MD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

SHADES OF Camp David? Bruited about here is the idea of a White House–initiated meeting next month in Washington among Shimon Peres (Israel), Hosni Mubarak (Egypt), King Hussein (Jordan), and Ronald Reagan. An article in a Tel Aviv newspaper said the gathering would seek to advance Mideast peace. Washington insiders pooh-pooh the notion. "Such a meeting would be improbable," says one pro-Israeli policy analyst, who thinks it would take a lot of preparation and that time is too short.

"They're not likely to hold such an event in broad daylight," says a Washington think-tank Arabist and counselor to both Democratic and Republican Administrations. When George Bush made similar suggestions in his recent Mideast trip, "he got the cold shoulder—they do this in their own way," referring to the Arab inclination to avoid Washington's shadow over such sensitive proceedings.

Sources also underline possible personality clashes. Hussein might well agree to meet with Peres—"they have met before and get along," one Mideast watcher notes. However, under the terms of Israel's current coalition government, Peres will step down in October, to be succeeded as prime minister by Yitzhak Shamir of the hard-line Likud Party. "Hussein would have no interest in seeing Shamir, because their positions are totally incompatible," says this source.

So time for Peres to make a deal is running out. Regional specialists here see an Israeli/Egyptian meeting early this month as the next break in the Mideast gridlock. "That mechanism is in place and will kick in as soon as they iron out the minor disputes in the Taba," says a National Security Council specialist, predicting that any such talks will focus on the Palestinian question. Most agree little will be accomplished at any such meeting without strong U.S. involvement, however, and that won't be forthcoming: The White House is too preoccupied with the elections and the Soviet Summit.

Political analysts here are saying that New York Governor Mario Cuomo was ill advised to go after Abe Hirschfeld, who was making a bid for the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor. Cuomo didn't want the millionaire parking-garage magnate on his ticket, and he went to extraordinary lengths, including subpoenaing the Polish-born Hirschfeld's naturalization papers, to disqualify his candidacy. Cuomo succeeded through court action, and Hirschfeld quit the race in tears.

Hirschfeld may have been crying, but Cuomo could be the one who is hurt. "It did vividly juxtapose Cuomo's high moral pronouncements and gutter-ball pettiness," says a New York–based media consultant who works on both Democratic and Republican campaigns in New York and Washington. Insiders here think Cuomo's actions will affect his plans for the 1988 presidential run, albeit perhaps not fatally. This bullying of Hirschfeld reinforces the impression of Cuomo as a thorny personality, capable of political switchblading. "It's a local matter, but it clearly shows a mean streak," says one Washington analyst. "If he keeps doing this, the national press is sure to zero in on his dark side."

One senior Republican Hill staffer comments: "Cuomo's bound to come under a press magnifying glass and it'll make him burn and burn."

"It only takes one leak to sink a ship," say Navy sources about Secretary John Lehman's $20-million proposal to build a tall ship. Even though Lehman only called for an internal feasibility study, critics went all out to sink the project. The price factor, during a budget crunch, got to Defense officials like Cap Weinberger.

As you might expect, the leak came from a competing vessel, one being backed by a private foundation and a number of retired admirals. The Seawitch Foundation has designed a wooden clipper ship it wants built. Lehman wants a state-of-the-art, steel-hulled tall ship. Friends of Seawitch "leaked the Lehman plan in order to kill the effort to build the modern ship," says a top Navy source. "They thought Lehman's ship would undercut support and money for Seawitch." Navy sources say Seawitch's planned wooden ship would be more expensive to maintain and not useful for training cadets because of problems with safety, size, and equipment, whereas Lehman's ship would resemble an existing "very safe, very efficient" Japanese ship.

The Navy Secretary, we hear, after weighing costs and options, will try to find other ways, including private donations, to get the vessel built by 1992, the five-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's discovery of America. "John believes in getting his way," says a grudging Defense admirer, "not in getting mad. He's been mucked up a bit by this petty treachery, but he'll still come out ahead." Who'll deny it? Certainly not —CATO

---

own Navy to use U.S. shippers—in 1904. The same protectionist sentiments abound today in Congress.

☐ The Communist government of Rumania has embarked on a campaign to demolish churches and other historical buildings. Thousands of Bucharest residents have been forced from their homes, scores of buildings flattened, six churches and two monasteries demolished. The demolition serves two purposes: to make room for the new Victory of Socialism Boulevard—which will include headquarters for the government and the Communist Party—and to rid the city of its "obscure past" and form part of the armature of "permanent revolution." So far, at least one-tenth of Bucharest has been razed, destroying much of the capital city's religious and cultural heritage and denying many the ability to worship freely in a country that enjoys most-favored-nation status with the United States.

☐ The "non-aligned" countries held their meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, last week, the festivities taking place in a luxury hotel built by the Yugoslavs and run by the Sheraton chain. Among the non-aligned principals were Fidel Castro, Daniel Ortega, and host Robert Mugabe. The draft declarations of policy con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Identity Crisis

Presbyterians buried the hatchet;
  Now the Lutherans warily merge,
While the Anglicans ogle the Romans
  And the Orthodox toy with the urge.
With the corners so tactfully rounded
  And the rough places planed to a shine,
Only God can determine for certain
  Who's the nun and who's Father Divine.

W. H. VON DREELE

tained 54 explicit attacks upon the United States. The invasion of Afghanistan was accosted by a call for a "political settlement." The dream of everyone present was a future conference of the non-aligned, held in Pretoria.

☐ The testimony of nine escapees from Fortress Nicaragua has been collected in a State Department publication, "In Their Own Words," in which the refugees describe, often in brutal detail, the horrors they experienced under the Sandinistas. The witnesses range from a peasant coffee picker to the former Sandinista Vice Minister of Justice. Another former Junta member, Alvaro Baldizón, once chief investigator for Interior Minister Tomás Borge, tells of the systematic murder of hundreds of Miskito Indians, and of how Sandinista troops killed peasants and burned villages, then staged the incidents to look like Contra "atrocities." Prudencio Baltodano, a farmer and lay preacher, recounts how they tied him to a tree, bludgeoned him with rifle butts, stabbed him with bayonets, cut off his ears, and left him to die, all because he was . . . a practicing Christian.

☐ The long march back from the hard line staggers along in China. The director of the Shanghai Institute for International Relations—a kind of Chinese Georgi Arbatov—told a symposium there recently that World War III was not inevitable. Armed conflict among the "imperialists," leading to armed conflict with the Communists, is a doctrine often asserted by Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. Chen Qimao, however, says that economic relations among capitalist countries, long described as the source of international tension, in fact contribute to peace. Multinational corporations, "where each owns something in the other's country," facilitate cooperation. Qimao's analysis doesn't deny conflict between capitalist and Communist countries; it simply implies the obvious: that the struggle for global domination will take place not on the major battlefields of the world, but in the hearts and minds of the West. Qimao does knock a leg out from under one of the more alluring arguments Communists have used to recruit allies: By portraying themselves as the peaceful alternative to inevitable armed struggle among the imperialists, Communists have often co-opted peace movements. At least one Communist theoretician has now taken a different course.

☐ Sorry to report that the price of a bride in China has soared to $1,621, or about 12 years' earnings, which is said to be creating social problems, which we believe, even though they're probably cheap at twice the price. Could be a dandy market for entrepreneurs in the export business who figure out how to satisfy the demand.

☐ For reasons not quite clear, the battleship *Iowa* fired a Tomahawk cruise missile at a defenseless swamp in southern Alabama. The swamp was uninjured, but the missile was a total loss.

☐ The government remains the last obstacle to restoring the seventy-mph speed limit on the interstates, which were built for seventy and served nicely until the energy crisis in 1973, when, to save gasoline, the government invaded states' rights and imposed a 55-mile limit. When that excuse evaporated, the government alleged it was saving taxpayers, and never mind the waste of life entailed by crawling on the interstates. The taxpayers are having none of this, and speeds on the highways are way back up, while fatalities—and gasoline prices—keep going down. Which, no doubt, is why the House of Representatives voted down the latest proposal to raise the speed limit. Every so often we get the idea that government doesn't do any good at all.

☐ The Administration edges closer to drug testing of bureaucrats. That is going too far. Keep 'em stoned. Otherwise they might do something.

☐ Guess what national landmark, floating lazily, is going to join the federal hunt for drug smugglers? But not, it hastens to add, by carrying guns or running any hunt-and-kill operations. Just snooping, y'know. The Goodrich blimp.

☐ (Please DO NOT write the editor if you think it is the Goodyear blimp. Has all our humor escaped you these last thirty years?)

☐ WAIT A MINUTE DEPARTMENT. Janice Hart, the candidate for Secretary of State in Illinois ("follower of the extremist Lyndon LaRouche," as the wire services put it), has been convicted of tossing a piece of liver at Archbishop Weakland of Milwaukee. That probably isn't nice, but what so many have longed to do can hardly be much of a crime. The target is a gentleman who desires to consign the country to socialism on the basis of his own, admittedly horrify-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Grand Design

THIS COLUMN is directed to American conservatives disturbed by recent developments, political, fiscal, and psychological, concerning the Strategic Defense Initiative and prospective arrangements at the next Summit meeting.

1. The existing treaty (ABM) touches ambiguously on what signatories can and can't do. Under the "restrictive" interpretation, there are things the United States will want one day soon to do (testing, primarily), which are forbidden to us (so long as we agree to the restrictive interpretation).

2. There has been talk of Mr. Reagan's offering to prolong the ABM Treaty for seven and one-half years, a hypothesis that brings great distress to pro-SDI advocates who believe the effect of such a postponement would be mortal to SDI research and testing. These folk—ourselves included—have consistently urged the President to repeal the ABM Treaty altogether; to be done with it, pure and simple.

3. The good news, received from an authoritative source, is that Mr. Reagan has in mind, at the Summit, to redefine the ABM Treaty in such a way as absolutely to remove any obstacles to going full-speed-ahead with research and testing, and only after that much is made clear, to agree to the seven-and-a-half-year ban on deployment.

The thinking behind this decision rests substantially on several assumptions. One of them is that although the Soviets are cheating on the ABM Treaty, in fact they are observing certain restraints which it is in our interest that they should continue to abide by. A second is that certain stages of the Soviet strategic-defense system are well advanced, certain others in arrears. A third is that we can't reach the deployment stage in any event in less than five years.

There is a grand objective:

4. This is, to come up with an arrangement the terms of which would prohibit deployment until a period before which we would not in any event be able to deploy in all three stages.

ing, experience of childhood penury and only getting chocolate ice cream once a week (that's close—we don't always understand him), wherefore, it follows, everybody should suffer the same misery in the name of justice. Or something. We assume Mrs. Hart missed —the wire reporters would have blared a hit if she'd connected with the liver. She faces a $500 fine, which is utterly ridiculous. Forty hours of community service is more like it, especially if she can spend it in target practice.

No More Burning Tree

THE MICHIGAN Republican Party held its state convention recently, and Jerry Ford wouldn't recognize his old party. A majority of the delegates on the floor were evangelical Christians—some of them Pat Robertson backers, others not.

The Republican nominee for governor, and putative leader of the state party, is William Lucas, a black former New York City policeman who has switched from the Democrats to the GOP. The striking thing was how smoothly the evangelicals and Lucas's black supporters worked together. A controversial fundamentalist was dropped from the state ticket, and Lucas opposed opening the convention to debate about sex education, school prayer, and other matters dear to the fundamentalists—and they went along with it. In return, however, they received commitments on nominees for state posts. The process represented compromise and trade-offs among heretofore unlikely groups of Republicans.

Lucas has an uphill fight against popular Democratic governor James Blanchard, but he is showing skills that may make him the nation's first black governor. He is a conservative. He appears to be constructing a new Republican equation in Michigan. This is not Grand Rapids-Burning Tree Republicanism.

Jesse Jackson Is Too Much

THE REVEREND Jesse Jackson has been rotating around the world, broadcasting over Radio Havana to add his bit to the South African mess and comparing President Botha to Adolf Hitler, among other insults to human intelligence.

Americans have indulged this demagogue too long. Official Democrats do not dare anathematize him because he allegedly speaks for blacks, who vote Democratic. If that is so, at least non-Democrats can make the point that needs making, namely that if Mr. Jackson were white, he'd be run out of town.

One of the remarkable things about American society over the period since World War II has been the evaporation of racial animosity. The recently published collection of Ernie Pyle's wartime columns shows the depth of anti-Japanese feeling at the time. Pyle, a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What are these stages? Roughly speaking, Stage Number One is to hit the enemy missile as it is fired, before it reaches the atmosphere. Stage Number Two is to hit it while it is en route to its objective. Stage Number Three is to hit it as it comes down for the kill. The Soviet Union and the United States have advanced to different levels in developing weapons appropriate to the several stages.

The grand idea is that at the end of the five years, the United States will reveal to the Soviet Union exactly what its technology has arrived at, and invite the Soviet Union to do the same thing, but only in exchange for the reduction of all nuclear offensive arsenals, right to the threshold level. I.e., to the point where Soviet weapons would no longer present a threat to the survival of the United States (or ours to the Soviet Union), each maintaining only enough nuclear weapons to cope with threats from *n*th countries.

5. A subtle but dangerous pressure is being exerted on the Administration at the present moment not so much by enemies of the Space Shield program as by its friends. What they are saying is: Why not concentrate on Stage Three, and use that technology in order to protect our own missiles? The trouble with that line of thinking, however welcome a defense of our missile sites, is that it has the effect of simply returning us to a kind of post-ABM mentality in which, whatever we achieved in safety for our offensive missiles, we would sacrifice the larger design, which is to seek safety for our people, and therefore to edge away from mutual assured destruction.

6. It will prove important, in our dealings with the Soviet Union, to deprive it, in the post-Reagan era, of the means to stall United States deployment of SDI. To which end, firm dates will be set beyond which deployment becomes automatic. What is of course critical here is that any concession by the Soviet Union to nuclear disarmament should be conclusive and binding. A future President ought not to be able to succumb to Soviet propitiation at anything less than threshold level, in exchange for delaying SDI deployment or whatever. If the Soviet Union were tomorrow to reduce its nuclear arsenal by 70 per cent, it would make very little difference to the danger in which U.S. citizens now live. It is only if the reduction goes to the threshold—we are talking about, perhaps, 90, 95 per cent—that true nuclear disarmament is under way.

So? A grand plan. Its success depends on the language, and the force behind the language, wrested in negotiations with the Soviet Union. —WFB

---

thoroughly representative American sensibility, regarded the Japanese as slimy near animals, disgusting subhumans. John W. Dower's *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*, also recently published, shows how racial animosities on both sides made the fighting so very savage. Today there is no anti-Japanese animosity in American society. The Japanese tend to be admired, for their industry and achievements.

When Jesse Jackson mouths off about American "racism" he ought to be reminded of this. Bernhard Goetz did not shoot four Orientals in that New York subway. The recent Vietnamese immigrants do not have a high illegitimacy or crime rate. The welfare rolls are not loaded with Koreans. No one gets nervous when approached on the street by a group of Japanese teenagers. Reverend Jackson has work to do here at home before he reforms South Africa, and builds new shrines to Fidel Castro and Che Guevara.

Flattery's Sincerest Form

Inflation's sleepy as a slug
While rates stay flatter than a rug
Or fall, and so it's nice to see
A rather beaming GOP,
As Democrats who choose to run
Sound ever so Republican.

W. H. von Dreele

Overreact, Mr. President

Jerry Whitworth, 47, will be eligible for parole when he's 107. He got a total of 365 years in prison, plus a package of fines adding up to $410,000, for his role in selling U.S. secrets to the Soviet Union. He got off easy. The director of naval intelligence testified that Whitworth's efforts could have given the Soviets a decisive edge in case of war.

In the light of all that, it's a grim joke for the Soviets to hold a *U.S. News* reporter, Nicholas Daniloff, on a charge (almost certainly phony) of spying. The Soviets are engaged in simple harassment of the American press—and, while they're at it, distracting attention from the recent arrest of a Soviet spy at the United Nations.

But there is a silver lining. The Daniloff case presents the U.S. with a moment of opportunity. The Administration should seize the occasion to expel a few hundred officials of the Soviet embassy in Washington, which—as is well known—serves largely as a gigantic base of operations for espionage. Such a move would be called an "overreaction," and it would no doubt endanger future summits and photo opportunities, but who knows, it might help us win World War III.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Harvard at 350

HARVARD UNIVERSITY now celebrates its 350th birthday. It has a magnificent history stretching back virtually to the beginning, all those Adamses and so forth, the Puritan divines and the Transcendentalists, the merchants and the Roosevelts: a great saga. It now has a decent president in Derek Bok, and perhaps the strongest faculty in the country. It is harder to gain admission to Cal Tech or maybe even Amherst, but that does not matter. Harvard's endowment is $2.8 billion, dwarfing all rivals. There have been leftist faculty flurries about SDI and Ed Meese, petty, symbolic flurries: Harvard performs massive services for Washington, to the tune of one-fifth of Harvard's annual budget, or $130 million. Pushed by Edwin O. Reischauer, for example, Harvard pioneered in Japanese and East Asian Studies, and the same is true in other fields.

All is not well, of course. The glass is indeed half empty. Like Columbia, Berkeley, and other places, Harvard rolled over before the rioters and protestors of the 1960s. Chicago, under President Edward Levi, did not, and there are many who argue that Chicago is now the place to go. This year, Harvard allowed shanties.

There has been severe aesthetic and cultural attrition in Harvard Square and around the campus generally. Evidentally the environmentalists were unable to protect their own environment against vulgarization, and maybe even failed to recognize it as such.

Sub-intellectual crazies seem to have run the student newspaper, the *Crimson*, for at least a millennium. The famous law school has been riven and undermined by a Marxist/nihilist faction. Not surprisingly, good professors are leaving for Chicago.

But Richard Herrnstein has a place at Harvard, and first published his incendiary genetic conclusions there. Martin Feldstein, former chairman of Reagan's Council of Economic Advisors, teaches at Harvard. So do Harvey Mansfield Jr., Straussian and Burkean, and James Q. Wilson, sharp-eyed, eloquent, no-nonsense social scientist. Henry Kissinger taught there. Under Bok and Dean Henry Rosovsky, Harvard has instituted a required "core curriculum" that actually tends toward seriousness and is being widely imitated elsewhere.

Harvard, in its permutations, will always be Harvard, something of a pain in the neck. It is excessively high-minded and earnest, and also complacent-snobbish. There is some truth in the title of Le Boutillier's bad book, *Harvard Hates America*. It is quite possible that Daniel Ortega is more popular at Harvard than Ronald Reagan is.

But T. S. Eliot studied and taught there. Students listened to William James and George Santayana and Alfred North Whitehead, Christopher Dawson, F. O. Matthiessen, and the great Kittredge. The latter refused to take a PhD, explaining, "After all, who would examine me?" Once, while entering his lecture room, he tripped over the threshold and fell on his nose. "At last," he said, "I am on a level with my students."

There is undoubtedly life in the old place yet, not much, as James Reston would say, but some.

Dissent from the Top

A REMARKABLE DOCUMENT has emerged from the Soviet underground, leaked to the West via NBC News and the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*. Put together by the "Movement for Socialist Renewal," it begins with a frank inventory of the exceedingly bleak Soviet economic statistics, and proceeds to recommend, manifesto-style, astonishingly radical reforms, including a large dose of privatization and free-market alternatives, and concomitant political freedoms (e.g., opposition political parties [!]).

The most interesting thing about the episode, however, is that the 17-page document purports to have come from among the ruling elite, rather than—as would be expected—a dissident group. Healthy suspicion is always in order when dealing in such matters. Still, it does look genuine, its motivation patriotic (the authors claim their reform is necessary to prevent "a reverse of the present U.S.-Soviet military parity in favor of the U.S."); among other things, the statistics cited would not generally be available to anyone but senior officials in Moscow. What we are seeing here is frustration over the abysmal failure of socialism to provide the material prosperity its rhetoric promises, this frustration now tip-toeing out of the closet of Soviet dogma and—a rare stroke of opportunity—making its way to the free press. The document has been officially denounced in Moscow as "obstruct[ing] the ongoing process of the reconstruction of our society," by which is meant, presumably, ongoing strides toward economic collapse.

Farm-Policy Fiasco

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S decision to subsidize wheat sales to the Soviet Union will not in itself benefit the Soviets. The subsidy being offered by the U.S. is only $13 per metric ton, which would still leave the price about $7 per ton higher than the Soviets are being offered by other countries. So the Soviets are unlikely to bite. And even if we cut the price another $7 to make our wheat competitive, the Soviets would still do no better by buying from us.

Nevertheless, the agricultural policies of the industrialized countries, taken as a whole, do help the Soviets. By guaranteeing prices to farmers, the governments of the U.S. and of the countries in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

European Community make their products uncompetitive in world markets, thus creating surpluses. So to try to repair the damage from the first intervention, they intervene further and subsidize exports. These subsidies have a new set of unintended effects. They drive world prices lower—in many cases below what they would be if the governments hadn't intervened in the first place.

Who benefits? Nations that import a great deal of their food. Such as the Soviet Union.

Who loses? Developing countries that produce primary agricultural products and are hurt by the subsidized competition. For example, our government's latest subsidy on rice, which took effect on April 15, has caused American rice farmers to increase their exports; this in turn has badly damaged Thailand's economy. While it may seem strange to Americans, the U.S. farm bill was one of the most hotly discussed issues in Thailand's recent election. Our subsidies on wheat exports also hurt Argentina, which is struggling to pay back its huge foreign debts.

President Reagan knows all this. He recently called attention to some of these harmful effects at the May economic summit in Tokyo. Which makes his bragging at the Illinois State Fair about the huge farm subsidies his Administration is handing out all the more disappointing.

Father Current

When Father Charles Curran appeared for his press conference after his booting from Catholic University, the reporters present gave him a standing ovation. And just to show the crowd that his heart was in the right place, Father Curran referred to God as "she."

It promises to be a lucrative martyrdom. He appears to wish to make all the trouble he can for the Catholic Church over his suspension, from law suits to the sort of demagogy he displayed at the press conference. It throws a strange light on his insistence that theologians should offer the Church "loyal opposition."

His views ("dissents," as they are usually called) on sexual morality consistently tend in the direction of popular secular consensus: contraception and masturbation are pretty much okay, homosexual love may be moral, some abortions are justified, people should be allowed to remarry after divorce.

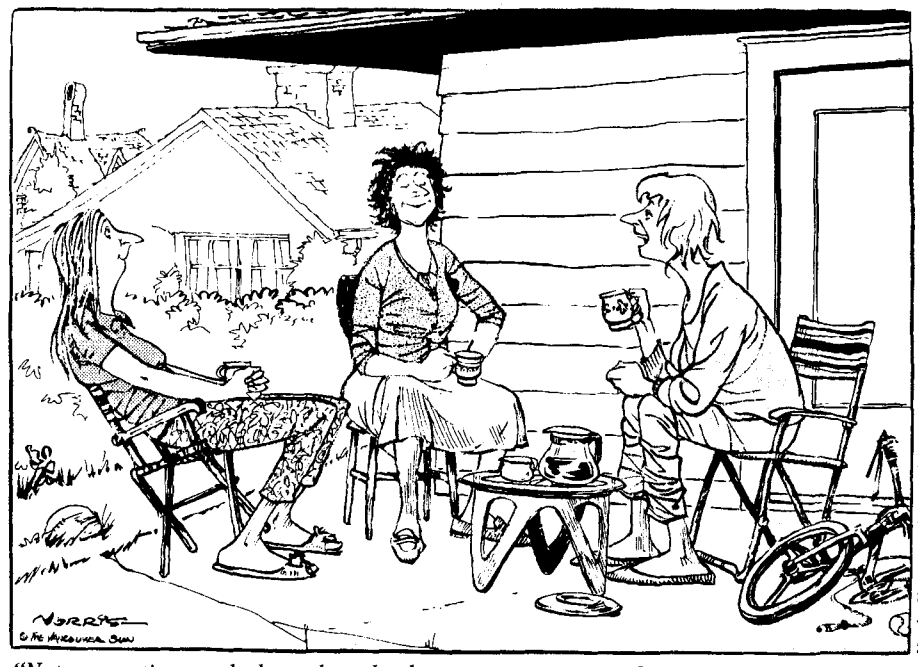
Tame stuff, by secular standards, but what's Catholic about it? After all, the Catholic Church isn't in business to emulate worldly fashion, but largely to resist it. The Church can teach Father Curran a thing or two about real dissent.

His distinction between infallible and non-infallible teachings won't wash. Catholicism has a number of well-established official positions that aren't less official for not having been solemnly defined. The issue isn't Father Curran's right to reject them but the Church's right to say he isn't teaching Catholic moral theology when he does reject them. He is free to pursue his thought wherever he likes, but not any longer free to do so as a spokesman, as it were, for the Catholic Administration.

What Great Teaching Is

John C. Adams, late professor of European history at Dartmouth College, did not publish much. He wrote a few articles, and just one—fascinating—book: *Flight in Winter*, the story of the bitter retreat of the Serbian army through the mountains of Albania in the winter of 1915. But his lectures were Events. Students often asked him to hold them on big weekends, like Winter Carnival, so they could bring their dates. His lecture on the beginning of the First World War riveted a hall of two hundred irreverent undergraduates, leaving them silent and in awe. In 1966, *Esquire* magazine recognized him as Dartmouth's champion teacher, one of the ten best in the nation.

But J. C. Adams was no mere classroom entertainer. He hacked a way through the brambles of diplomatic history, through the wars and treaties and evanescent foreign ministers, out into the light of cau-



Norris, *Vancouver Sun* / Rothco

"Not a negative word about the school system as we savor the positive fact that today, we are here . . . and they are there."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Day with Qaddafi

Sleeping in an armored bus
With no scheduled terminus,
Muammar keeps moving on,
Fearful lest the Pentagon,
Sensing an extended stay,
Send the signal, "Bombs away"—
Though a stationary tent
Might improve the government.

W. H. VON DREELE

sality, of insight into why the things that shaped our world happened as they did. Facts were the starting point, and woe betide the student who misspelled the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji. But the facts led onward to understanding, to trails of logic and causation, to how the fatal decisions in St. Petersburg and Vienna in the summer of 1914 were shaped by the Crimean War and the Bosnian annexation crisis. He gave his students what the Germans call *Fingerspitzengefühl* for diplomacy, an ability to sense how it worked. The gift itself is rare; the ability to transmit it to others was perhaps uniquely his.

I did not know J. C. Adams well. I think no student did. After I had graduated and he had retired, we met for lunch at the Hanover Inn whenever I was in town. He was no less reserved, or less brilliant, there than in his lectures. No student would ever have thought of calling him by his first name. He was always Professor Adams. But those same students he held always at arm's length were what he lived for.

With his death, something is lost to us, for a while, which we will not find again here.

—WILLIAM S. LIND

NOTES & ASIDES

□ **PLAYBOY**
G. BARRY GOLSON
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

Dear Mr. Buckley:

I was sitting with Bob Scheer the other day talking about interview subjects. I brought your name up for a return engagement, and asked Bob how he'd start out. He said, "I'd be provocative. I'd say, 'Well, you won it all, didn't you?' "

I know this is an odd time to be asking, what with the Meese fur flying and the columns you wrote about *Playboy* in the last couple of years, but . . . I'm asking. In fact, the moment might be ideal: interesting times and all that. I know that talking to Scheer can sometimes become an exercise in testiness, but it will never get boring—for you or the reader.

Would you consider sitting for a portrait just one more time?

Thanks.

G. Barry Golson
Yale Daily News '67, a propos of nothing

Dear Mr. Golson:

When I was approached in 1970 to do an interview, I specified that my time would need to be reimbursed since I was not situated then (no more than now) to act as a philanthropist to *Playboy*—proceeds from my journalism flow to NATIONAL REVIEW. The sum of $3,000 was agreed on. That sum expressed in 1986 dollars is about $8,000. That is the first obstacle, though one that affects *Playboy*, not me.

I would need to be satisfied, either by you or by Scheer, that however combative the questions, adequate space would be given for exposition. I would need to reconfirm that the arrangements of 1970 still apply: namely, I have the right to edit my replies, and my okay would be needed page by page—I remember David Butler flying to Switzerland to get my signature on each galley.

Finally, I would need to reach an agreement with Bob concerning the amount of time spent on the interview. It was most awfully protracted last time around. We would need to agree on a maximum number of hours together. Say, eight, not counting editing time.

If all of the above is okay with you, I would want to reserve the final go, to be given after a brief preliminary conversation with Bob Scheer. And, as with the first interview, no prodding of my personal life.

1967? . . . Ah, approaching the season of regicide, where the office I once held on the OCD [Oldest College Daily] was abolished. Were you the executioner? Are you still at it?

Cordially,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Dear Mr. Buckley:

At first I was going to reply that I assumed you were kidding about your conditions for the interview; then, of course, I realized you weren't. You did, indeed, undergo a different kind of experience in the early Seventies, when ground rules—and journalism itself—were different.

Since I began handling the interviews in 1975, we haven't allowed text approval—not to Carter or Moynihan, not to Gilmore or Castro—and that seems to have been an appropriate decision during a time when a lot of public figures have become experts at sanitizing their images. As for payment, though it may have once seemed right to at least pay for an author's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Great history. Great savings.

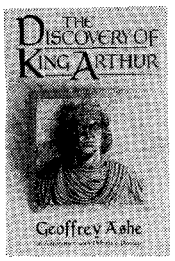
Take any 3 of these fine publishers' editions for the dramatically low price of $1.00 each with Trial Membership (Values up to $99.95)

(First price is publishers' list. Boldface is Members' Price.)

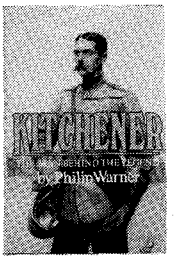
If you love history, you'll love the quality, selection and savings you enjoy as a member of the History Book Club. No other general interest book club offers so many fine publishers' editions of important history at such substantial savings.

Enjoy substantial savings with Trial Membership. Select four books on this page. Take the first three for just $1.00 each when you pay the low Members' Price on your fourth selection. (Total retail value of up to $99.95).

Save an average of 30% with low Members' prices. As a Club Member, you'll enjoy significant savings over retail on each selection you make from the 150-200 volumes featured in our monthly *Review* (some examples are shown in this ad). You need take only four more books over the next two years. After that, you'll save even more—up to 60%, in fact—on History Book Club Bonus Books.



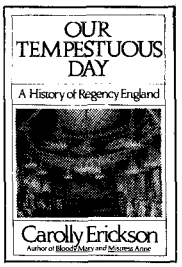
1339. $18.95/**$14.95**



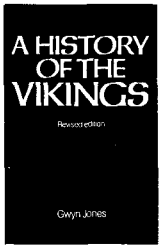
2089. $15.95/**$12.95**

7914. $22.95/**$16.95**

1453. **The Perspective Of The World: 15th-18th Century (Civilization and Capitalism, Vol. III),** *by Fernand Braudel.* $35.00/**$18.50**
8490. **The Indian Frontier Of The American West, 1846-1890,** *by Robert M. Utley.* The final half-century of conflict. $19.95/**$13.95**
4630. **Why The South Lost The Civil War,** *by Richard Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones & William Still, Jr.* How the erosion of Confederate nationalism led to defeat. $29.95/**$18.00**



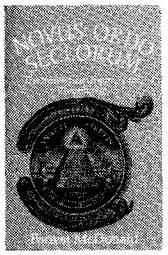
4416. $18.95/**$15.50**



1172. $25.00/**$16.50**

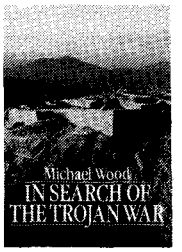
5629. $15.95/**$12.95**

A4077. **Atlas of the North American Indian,** *by Carl Waldman.* The rich, exciting & poignant heritage of our native Americans. $29.95/**$19.95**
(Counts as 2 of your 3 selections).
7047. **Ancient History: Evidence and Models,** *by M.I. Finley.* What we can & what we can never know about the Graeco-Roman world. $17.95/**$14.50**
7393. **A·B·C Et Cetera: The Life & Times of The Roman Alphabet,** *by A. & N. Humez.* A walk through a select Latin vocabulary. $17.50/**$14.50**

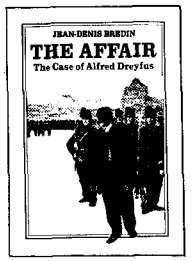


5264. $25.00/**$17.00**

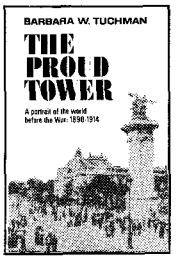
1859. $15.00/**$10.50**



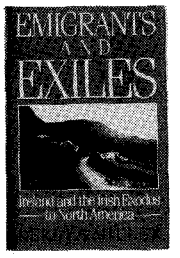
4879.$22.95/**$16.95**



1149. $24.95/**$17.95**



3095. $21.95/**$13.50**



4283. $35.00/**$24.00**

4515. **From the Ruins of the Reich: Germany 1945-1949,** *by Douglas Botting.* Life under occupation and its devastating effects. $17.95/**$14.50**
4408. **The Fall of the Roman Empire: The Military Explanation,** *by Arther Ferrill.* How the collapse of Rome's army led to its fall. $22.50/**$17.50**
2592. **Son Of The Morning Star: Custer And The Little Bighorn,** *by Evan S. Connell.* N.Y. Times best seller. $20.00/**$13.95**
1446. **The March of Folly: From Troy to Vietnam,** *by Barbara W. Tuchman.* How governments have sabotaged themselves. $18.95/**$13.95**
2980. **The March To The Sea And Beyond: Sherman's Troops In The Savannah And Carolinas Campaigns,** *by Joseph T. Glatthaar.* $27.95/**$18.50**
3012. **The Bible As History, 2nd Revised Ed.,** *by Werner Keller.* Archaeology and science document biblical history. $14.95/**$10.95**
3830. **Cities and People,** *by Mark Girouard.* The entire panorama of urban history comes alive, from antiquity to present. $29.95/**$18.95**
6643. **Voyages Of The Steamboat Yellow Stone,** *by Donald Jackson.* Tales of the first steamboat to venture up the Missouri. $16.95/**$14.50**
7187. **Eleanor Of Aquitaine And The Four Kings,** *by Amy Kelly.* A ruler with great depth and strength of character. $20.00/**$14.50**
4275. **The Workshop of Democracy,** *by James MacGregor Burns.* From Civil War to a New Deal, 70 trying years in America's history. $24.95/**$17.50**
4978. **Life and Fate: A Novel,** *by Vasily Grossman.* An outstanding portrayal of Stalinist Russia during World War II. $22.50/**$16.50**
7666. **The Holocaust: A History of the Jews of Europe During the Second World War,** *by Martin Gilbert.* A powerful testimony. $24.95/**$17.50**

How the Club Works: About every 4 weeks, (14 times per year), you'll receive a new issue of *The History Book Club Review* and a dated reply card. If you want the Editors' Choice, do nothing—the book will come automatically. If you want another book, or no book at all, return the card by the date specified. (Book shipments will be charged to your account at low Members' Prices, plus postage and packing).

If you receive an unwanted book because you had less than 10 days to decide, simply return it and pay nothing. We guarantee postage.

Join the History Book Club today—and save!

GH86A

The History Book Club

YES, HBC. Please activate my Trial Membership and send me the four books whose numbers I have entered below. Bill the first three at $1.00 each and the fourth at the low Members' Price plus postage and packing.

[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

I may return these books within three weeks at your expense and owe nothing. Or, I will buy four more books over the next two years, not including my choices above. Either the Club or I may cancel my membership any time thereafter. All Club purchases are at low Members' Prices, and a postage-and-packing fee is added to all shipments. NZ29SP

Print Name_____

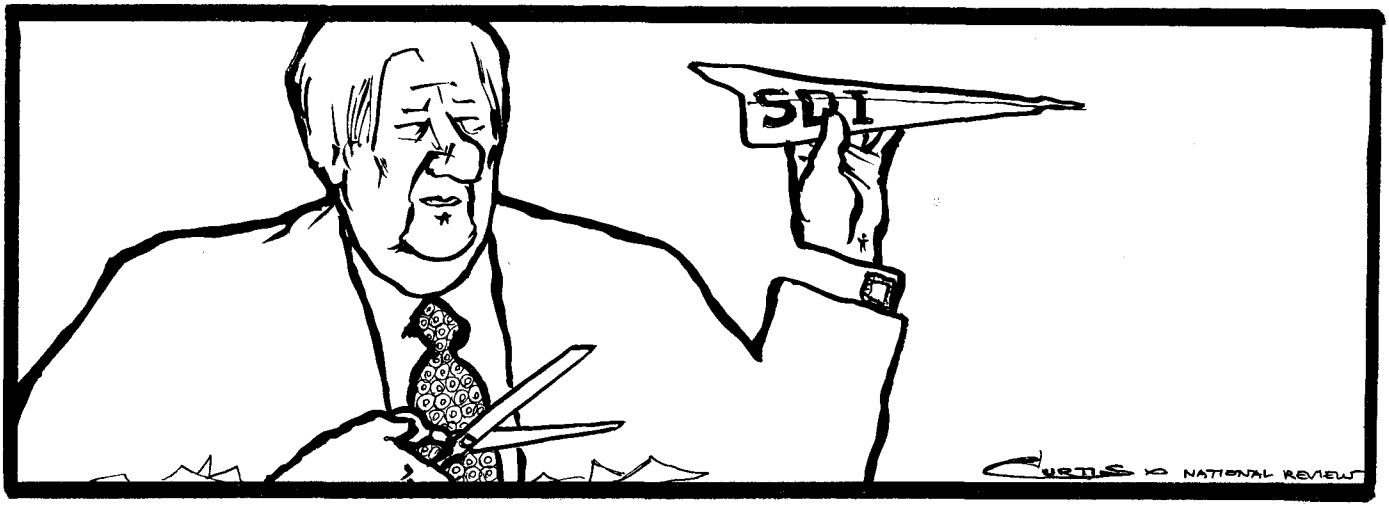
Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

U.S. and Canada mail to: the History Book Club,
Dept. N, 40 Guernsey Street, Box 790, Stamford, CT 06904-0790

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"We had to make a few modifications, Ron."

time, it seemed to me unjust to pay some and not others (political figures, or notorious folks), and so we cut it out altogether. Since then we've been cleaner than Caesar's spouse, if occasionally less wise for passing up someone good.

In any case, there seemed to be so little ground for compromise that I won't go through the motions of a counter-proposal. But damn, I think it's a shame because the topics that are in the air just now are the kind that get worthy opponents slinging worthwhile polemical mud. The second of your porn-baiting columns quoted the self-same Scheer, so perhaps you were thinking about it, too. Sorry to miss the opportunity.

As to the OCD, no, abolishing the chairmanship was the act of a regime far more radical than mine. I started the Friday supplement, precursor to the present plague of soft journalism and Op-Ed pages.

Best regards,
Barry Golson

Dear Barry (if I may):

Well, now, that much is settled . . . I was surprised to learn from you that the formula had been changed. A dozen times a year, after my own interview in 1970, I have mentioned to this & that inquirer how sophisticated I thought your technique. Bear in mind that it was not only the interviewee who stood to benefit from the opportunity to fine-tune his replies, but also the interviewer, who had the same privilege with respect to his questions. David Butler had not less than eight sessions with me, half of them devoted to rephrasing questions the editors back in Chicago thought insufficiently pointed . . .

Well, there we are. Sometime, somewhere, someone should write an essay on the relative advantages and disadvantages of the alternative methods of effecting the better interview. On the matter of compensation, it seems to me (if I may say it) that the idea of impartial treatment is one of those *fausses idées claires*. It is as obvious as that some people charge for the use of their time, others do not: because they are being compensated in different ways. The politician gives free speeches, the retired politician charges a fee. Those of us who have access to forums in which to express our opinions have that happy alternative. I labor for NATIONAL REVIEW without salary, but with some sense of obligation to help reduce its deficit, whence the remission to it of many of my fees. I suppose Scheer's questions would engage heavily the question of what is pornography, to which question I could not hope to give a better answer than Joe Sobran did in his column last week, namely, ". . . here is my working definition of pornography: It is that which, if it were to fail to appear in the next issue of *Playboy*, would result in the magazine's ruin." . . . But all of the above is in part to express myself on the subject, in part to reciprocate your courtesies, and to acknowledge the civil treatment I have had from *Playboy* in professional matters over the years.

Good to hear you deplore the excesses of the radicals at the OCD. I cared less that the kids abolished the office of Chairman than that for three years or so they published the most godawful illiteracies I ever read (or, better stated, I hope I'll never read worse). I do not see the *News* often, now that Francis Donahue is gone (he used to send it to me once or twice a week), but my impression is that it has improved, while failing to meet standards of yesteryear; a pity.

With all good wishes. And my regards to Bob Scheer. Do not fail to advise him that for $8,000 contributed to NATIONAL REVIEW he can have a long evening's discussion with me, which would be far more valuable to him than any alternative uses I can think of for the vulgar sum involved, now that Marilyn Monroe has left us.

Yours faithfully,
Bill

—WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Essential Reading From Laissez Faire

THE EVIDENCE OF THE SENSES
by David Kelley

With a style marked by clarity, elegance and precision, Kelley defends the view that "we directly perceive physical objects existing independently of the mind." Those who have embraced subjectivist or phenomenonlogical views will have to confront this powerful defense of philosophical realism before going any further.

OB9001 (hardcover) **$27.50**
OUR PRICE $24.95

MARXISM: Philosophy and Economics
by Thomas Sowell

A lively and readable survey of Marxism. The last chapter is a devastating critique that takes Marxism apart, refuting one myth after another. 281 p.

TS4120 (paper) **$6.95**

DEFENDING THE UNDEFENDABLE
by Walter Block

The iconoclastic economist defends the rights of pimps, prostitutes, drug pushers, slum-lords, scabs and other 'scum.' Hailed by luminaries like **Nozick, Szasz** and **Hayek,** this book is, believe it or not, a worthy successor to Hazlitt's *Economics In One Lesson.* Utterly unique! 256 p.

CU1550 (paper) **$9.50**

FOR A NEW LIBERTY The Libertarian Manifesto
by Murray N. Rothbard

In this sweeping manifesto, Rothbard presents his own ideological system. He discusses the historical context of libertarianism, defines its basic principles, provides far-reaching solutions for current problems and maps out a libertarian strategy. Perhaps the best single introduction to libertarianism available. 338 p.

MR0141 (paper) **$8.95**

THE PASSION OF AYN RAND
by Barbara Branden

The long awaited biography of this towering figure of the twentieth century. Through her novels and non-fiction books, Ayn Rand reached millions of readers across the world and left an enduring legacy. Branden's book is brilliantly revealing.

AR4404 (hardcover) **$19.95**

A PATTERN FOR FAILURE Socialist Economies in Crisis
by Sven Rydenfelt
Intro. by Milton Friedman

Turns the tables on socialists by examining the intense economic crises facing 15 different socialist nations, from Poland to Cuba. Filled with fascinating detail, this withering indictment is a powerful contribution to the ongoing debate on capitalism vs. socialism.

CS0314 (hardcover) **PUB. PRICE $22.95**
SALE $9.95

HUMAN ACTION
by Ludwig von Mises

Mises lays the foundation for understanding economics and analyzes market phenomena, concentrating on capital, interest, money and prices. A systematic study that covers every major topic of the science of economics. Encyclopedic in its defense of the free market. 885 p.

LV0078 (hardcover) **PUB. PRICE $49.95**
OUR PRICE $39.95

THE ROAD TO SERFDOM
by F.A. Hayek

This timeless classic shows why state planning must undermine both political and economic freedom. Contains chapters on 'The Great Utopia,' 'Individualism and Collectivism,' 'The Inevitability of Planning,' 'Economic Control and Totalitarianism,' 'Why the Worst Get on Top,' 'The End of Truth,' 'The Socialist Roots of Naziism,' and more. "An eloquent defense of laissez faire capitalism."—George Orwell.

FA0113 (paper) **$8.95**

TAKINGS: Private Property & the Power of Eminent Domain
by Richard A. Epstein

A profoundly important theoretical manifesto for limited government and the sanctity of private property. The title refers to the takings clause of the Fifth Amendment: "Nor shall any private property be taken for public use without just compensation." This clause was the Founding Fathers' attempt to limit government taking of private property, and Epstein rescues it from obscurity. 362 p.

PL8600 (hardcover) **$24.95**

FREEDOM AND DOMINATION A Historical Critique of Civilization
by Alexander Rustow

This highly original work of social theory and the history of civilization spans the centuries from the first steps toward civilization to our own time, tracing the conflict between individual freedom and state domination. A brilliant work of much insight and subtlety that should be of interest to any student of civilization and individual liberty. The *Human Action* of history. 716 p.

HS0348 (hardcover) **PUB. PRICE $49.00**
OUR PRICE ONLY $39.95

ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON
by Henry Hazlitt

The best primer on economic principles ever written, showing the long-run effects on the economy of all government intervention. A true classic, refuting every common myth about the necessity of state intervention and the unworkability of laissez faire. 214 p.

HH0014 (paper) **$6.95**

LOSING GROUND American Social Policy 1950-1980
by Charles Murray

This pathbreaking critique of the welfare state is having a massive impact and has become the most important work in its field of the past quarter-century. Murray alleges that the social programs of the past thirty years have actually hurt those they intended to help. 368 p.

CU0572 (paper) **$10.95**

CIRCLE YOUR CHOICES AND SEND US ENTIRE PAGE OR...

★ ORDER TOLL-FREE ★
1-800-238-2200 EXT 500

Charge your Visa or Master Card
Continental U.S. 24 hours a day. 7 days a week

OR *Send your order to* **LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS**
Dept. NAZ 532 Broadway, NY, NY 10012
Enclose $2.50 US Mail of $4.00 UPS postage & handling
($2.00 per book on foriegn orders.)

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE *If for any reason you are dissatisfied with any book, just return it within 30 days for a refund.*

LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS
Dept. NAZ 532 Broadway, New York, NY 10012

☐ Send me your FREE 32-page catalog of books on liberty.

☐ Check or Money Order ☐MasterCard ☐ Visa

CARD NO. _____ EX. DATE _____

SIGNATURE _____

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY/STATE _____ ZIP _____

© 1986 LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SIMON BOOMLET

LIKE REPUBLICANS, Democrats are filling up their roster of 1988 hopefuls. Most frequently mentioned as presidential candidates are Senators Gary Hart, Joe Biden, and Bill Bradley, Governors Mario Cuomo and Bruce Babbitt, and Representative Richard Gephardt. In August a new name surfaced: Paul Simon. The first-term senator from Illinois is a former five-term congressman, lieutenant governor, key wheel in the Daley machine, newspaper publisher, college professor, author, and Lincoln devotee.

The boomlet got under way through a letter sent to Simon by 15 liberal members of the House of Representatives, including Pete Stark, Charlie Rose, Steve Solarz, Cardiss Collins, and Don Edwards. "We need a candidate with a proven record of attracting all parts of our society," the letter said. "You have shown that ability dramatically." That letter was reproduced in bulk and sent to Washington journalists along with a worshipful Sunday-supplement feature from the *Chicago Tribune*.

"If anything were to develop," says Simon, "it would have to be a self-generated thing." Maybe so, but Simon is helping along the generative process. In mid August he held a private meeting with some of his political advisors including two big-league PAC directors.

Simon's supporters are fervent if not rabid. "Paul is qualified to run any office in the nation—including the Presidency," says Democratic Senator Alan Dixon, Simon's old political friend and fellow Illinoisan. Even some Republicans take a Simon candidacy seriously. "After the front-runners damage each other in regional contests," says 12-term-veteran House Republican Ed Derwinski, "they might well turn to a non-controversial candidate from the Midwest with a bow tie to help heal the wounds."

Simon's fundraising skills are formidable. In his race against Charles Percy he raised $4.5 million (against Percy's $5.3 million). Moreover, his administrative assistant, Floyd Fithian (who was also at that mid-August meeting), is a former Indiana congressman who joined the senator after a stint as fundraiser for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. Fithian knows where the money is.

Simon's voting record is liberal, although he declares himself to be fiscally conservative. Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) assigned Simon a 70 rating in 1983, 45 in 1984, and 85 in 1985. *National Journal* gives him an average 80 per cent liberal rating. Democratic activists tend to support candidates no lower than the mid-80s, so Simon qualifies, though not handily. In 1984, he did not endear himself to the Democratic leadership with his championing of the balanced-budget amendment. Nor did traditional liberal elements in the Democratic Party relish his book, *The Once and Future Democrats*, conveying the message that Democrats in general and liberals in particular were out of touch with the American voter.

Simon is strong with labor, his ratings from the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) being consistently higher than, say, Joe Biden's. As of now, the AFL-CIO plans to endorse a presidential candidate in 1987. The thinking had been that Biden or Cuomo would be favored, yet Simon might supplant both.

Illinois's political idiosyncrasies figure prominently in the Simon boomlet. "We are North and we are South," says Simon about his state. "We have about the same percentage of blacks as the nation. We're industrial and we're suburban and we're rural." Indeed, Illinois is a political microcosm and an historic predicter of national elections. In 1980, Illinois was within 1 per cent of the national results. In 1984, within 3 per cent. Since 1916 it has been wrong only twice on presidential winners (Jerry Ford and Charles Evans Hughes).

Despite this list of plusses, Simon's candidacy is seen as only microscopically credible at best. "Paul's a nice guy but not a heavy political hitter," notes a prominent Democratic consultant. "His big issue is illiteracy." Other insiders observe that Simon is not an Eighties candidate, not a Democratic model for the future—"too much of a Metzenbaum voting record." Republicans think so too. "The Mondale wimp image," gleefully notes one Reaganite congressman. "He's perfect for us, short, bow tie, a goody-goody—we ought to be contributing to his PAC."

YET SIMON is known to confound forecasting. He won a seat in the Illinois House of Representatives at the age of 27, and he's been swimming with the political sharks ever since. In a best-case scenario, Simon opines that if he can finish second to Hart in Iowa (contiguous to Illinois), he will gain enough momentum to win New Hampshire and conceivably go on to sweep Super Tuesday on March 8, 1988. The Southern texture of those primaries will play to Simon's strength, he believes. During his years in the House, he represented a district geographically closer to Birmingham, Alabama, than to Chicago.

In 1980 and 1984, the Illinois primary was crucial to the presidential campaigns of Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale. It will be no different in 1988. On March 15, a week after Super Tuesday, voters in Illinois, Ohio, and Minnesota will select their delegates in what promises to be a crucial Great Lakes Tuesday. If Simon is then seen as even arguably viable, he could sweep that day as a favorite son regionally. Then the Simon boomlet will become a boom. Just don't bet on it. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ARMS-CONTROL MORASS

MR. PAUL NITZE is one of the finest Americans of our time, with his clear mind, his integrity, his mastery of detail, and his unmatched span of experience in arms-control negotiations through several Administrations. I imply not the slightest criticism of him by adding that, nevertheless, I am glad that his impressive team in the August talks with the Soviets in Moscow also included Mr. Richard Perle of the Pentagon.

Similarly, I was glad that General Edward Rowny was there, alongside that veteran of post-Helsinki clashes, Mr. Max Kampelman. In the end, none of these distinguished gentlemen will actually make any vital decisions, for these will fall upon the broad shoulders of the President of the United States. The point is simply this: that professional negotiators, even of the outstanding caliber of Messrs. Nitze and Kampelman, have a natural interest in reaching an agreement; whereas such men as Messrs. Perle and Rowny are healthily (in my view) skeptical of the value of arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union.

A team of pure negotiators would be a signal to Gorbachev's own negotiators. The presence of the skeptics is a signal of another kind, implying that the American side really means business. The tag word for Mr. Perle, in particular, is "hard-liner"; I prefer "realist," as more accurate.

We shall have to wait until the meeting between Secretary of State George Shultz and his Soviet opposite number, Eduard Shevardnadze, in Washington on September 19 and 20 to find out whether the outcome will be, as initially expected, a second Gorbachev/Reagan Summit.

Today, as in all the decades since the 1920s, the problem with arms-control and disarmament negotiations (although these are by no means interchangeable terms) is the old one of the cart and the horse. Armaments, and *a fortiori* arms races, reflect international conflicts and tensions. They are the symptom, not the cause. So what do you address first—the cause or the symptom? The answer may seem obvious, but the idealist voices are not stilled. Surely, they argue, by treating the symptom you make a cure of the cause more likely.

Well, yes and no. The bottom line is that the two superpowers share an interest in reducing the proportion of their gross national product that is allocated to arms production. This is true even though the United States can better afford it than the Soviet Union, for the Soviet people have no way of protesting against low living standards, while American idealists and radicals can be as vociferous as they like. It seems to me highly improbable, however, that any substantial agreement will be reached—*and observed* on the Soviet side—except in the area of discarding obsolete stockpiles.

The hard truths are that the "protracted conflict" is untouched by arms-control talks or pacts, since it is inherent in the Soviet system; but that governments in democratic countries are under strong public pressure to be seen to be trying to reduce the arms burden and at least slow down the arms race.

Cheating and Deception

BECAUSE OF this public pressure, which comes less from the public as such than from Congress and the media, there is a strong reluctance on the Administration's part to draw attention to the guiding principles and methods of the Soviet negotiators, well known though they are in the right quarters. I am not similarly inhibited.

The unmentionable elements, then, are *cheating and deception*. I am not saying that, in the course of negotiations, the Soviet side occasionally cheats and deceives, by inadvertence as it were, but that cheating and deception *are* the guiding principles.

Unfortunately for the West, and especially for the U.S., this is a taboo subject, carefully avoided by the professional negotiators. Distinguished eyes tend to be chastely averted when the evidence comes into view.

Even Richard Nixon, for all his experienced awareness of the realities of Soviet Communism, let his eagerness to reach agreements with Brezhnev take precedence over the lessons of a lengthy history. In this pursuit he was ill served by Henry Kissinger, whose idea of realism was to charge the Soviets with "ruthless opportunism," while ignoring the grand strategic design of Leninist expansionism.

President Reagan's own performance has been remarkably consistent and realistic, but even he cannot ignore public expectations, and, unlike Gorbachev, he has to take constant account of the sometimes capricious budgetary economies that emerge from Congress.

Over the past few years, high-level Soviet and Soviet-bloc defectors have revealed important aspects of the handling of disarmament and arms control by the Soviet leadership. Not unexpectedly, given its utopian character, disarmament is regarded purely in propaganda terms, as a weapon in the permanent political strategy of undermining the West.

Arms control is a far more serious exercise—so serious that even membership in the Politburo apparently does not automatically confer access to discussions and decisions. Arms-control negotiations are carefully planned as a strategic *military* operation. As such, they are supervised by the Soviet Defense Council and handled by the Administrative Organs Department and the General Staff. The KGB (whose name, by the way, means: Committee of State Security) injects its own brand of poison into the mixture.

One of the principal aims of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whole operation is one that would not readily occur to innocent Westerners: the confirmation of intelligence about the enemy's strength and, still more importantly, about his intentions. In other words, about the U.S. readiness to use force.

The ultimate aim is the achievement or maintenance (depending on the area of armaments) of strategic superiority at minimum risk. To this end, treaties are to be framed, as far as possible, to facilitate noncompliance.

While the operation is in progress, a continuing flow of disinformation and propaganda emanates from Moscow and from the world apparatus, with precise and varied objectives: to split the Western Alliance and exacerbate Allied differences; to build up pressure against the military-industrial complex within the U.S. and Western Europe; to drive a wedge between Western military and non-military industries, recruiting the latter, as far as possible, to the Soviet cause; and, not least, to gain sympathy and support in the Third World countries, with the UN as the permanent and ready platform for anti-Western propaganda.

Leninist Morality

An aspect of Soviet cheating and deception that is particularly hard for Western minds (more accurately, non-Marxist minds) to understand, let alone accept, is the *morality* of the whole exercise, by Leninist tenets. Cheating and deception are not merely obligatory when dealing with the "class enemy" (that is, the United States and its allies), they are *moral*.

Once the difficult intellectual leap has been accomplished, it is hardly surprising to learn that cheating and deception are carefully planned tasks to advance state interests. All this, however, is carefully disguised with a large dollop of Newspeak. Officially, it is only the West that cheats and deceives. What Moscow does is hidden under such euphemisms as "the political plan" or "special state interests."

According to one of the most important of the Soviet-bloc defectors, General Jan Sejna, before a treaty is signed a program for its secret violation is approved, either by the Politburo or by the Defense Council, depending on the nature of the treaty.

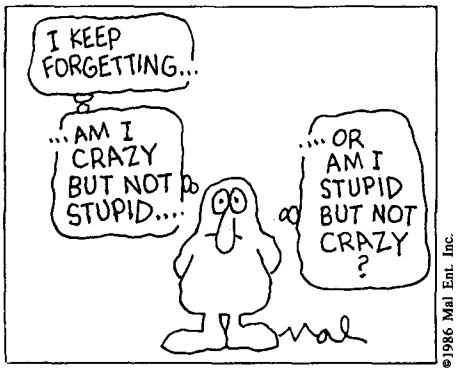
When Sejna defected in 1968, he brought, amidst a mass of other revelations, an interesting example. In the fall of 1962, the Soviet International Department briefed the Czechoslovak leadership on the progress of the nuclear-test-ban negotiations. From the Soviets' standpoint, the banning of tests was a secondary issue. The important point was to produce an instrument that would show the Soviets leading the battle to control the arms race and forcing the reluctant Americans to capitulate. The "peace-loving" image of the Soviet Union would thus be enhanced, and the appetite for arms control among influential people in the West, especially in the academic world and the media, would be suitably whetted.

At the same time, the development of Soviet nuclear weaponry would continue without a break. When the time came to resume testing, the satellites would be notified in advance and instructed to put the blame on the West for alleged breaches of the treaty.

Against this background, it is small wonder that the President's Advisory Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament, in its report on Soviet compliance with arms-control treaties, commissioned in 1982, recorded gross and generalized violations of all the major treaties and agreements.

Turning now from the general to the particular, I offer some thoughts on the SALT I ABM Treaty, and on SALT II. In a closely reasoned letter to the President at the end of July, Senator Jesse Helms called on Ronald Reagan to denounce the ABM Treaty of 1972. He quoted the unilateral U.S. Statement issued at the time, which stated, as a basis for U.S. withdrawal from the treaty, any failure, within five years, to negotiate more comprehensive limitations on strategic offensive arms.

As the Statement put it, any such failure would jeopardize the United States' supreme national interests. In his letter, Senator Helms pointed out that the Soviets have now deployed a first-strike capability that threatens the survivability of the United States' deterrent retaliatory forces, thus negating the main purpose of SALT I. Moreover, the Soviets, as the senator pointed out, have nearly completed a nationwide ABM defense system.



He went on to quote supporting passages from the Presidential White Paper of January 1985 on the Strategic Defense Initiative; from a statement by the President's National Security Advisor at that time; from the President's Strategic Modernization Statement of June 3, 1986; and from the testimony of Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, before the Senate on June 19 of this year.

To this observer, the case for U.S. withdrawal from the ABM Treaty seems almost as strong as the case for the President's denunciation of SALT II at the end of May—"almost," because the ABM Treaty, unlike SALT II, was actually ratified by the Senate.

Pre-Summitry

The clash between strategic realism and political reality, to which I drew attention recently in the context of sanctions against South Africa, comes into full play in the arms-control area, and will be seen to sharpen as the Summit approaches.

There is one criterion and one only to apply in arms-control talks with the Soviets: Will the outcome strengthen or weaken the U.S. and the Alliance? If the balance of forces is improved in the Americans' favor, that is a plus. If it stays roughly the same and both sides can bring themselves to discard obsolete hardware, then "public opinion" will at least be assuaged.

An illustration of the scale of the problem is provided by Richard R. Burt's contribution—to which I alluded in my August 29 column—to a recent set of three booklets on arms control published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Mr. Burt, the U.S. ambassador to the German Federal Republic, argued that the West should encourage Mr. Gorbachev to "walk through the door to increased cooperation which we have opened." How nice for Mr. Gorbachev to read such words! How encouraging to him to note, yet again, the trusting innocence of the "class enemy"! □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

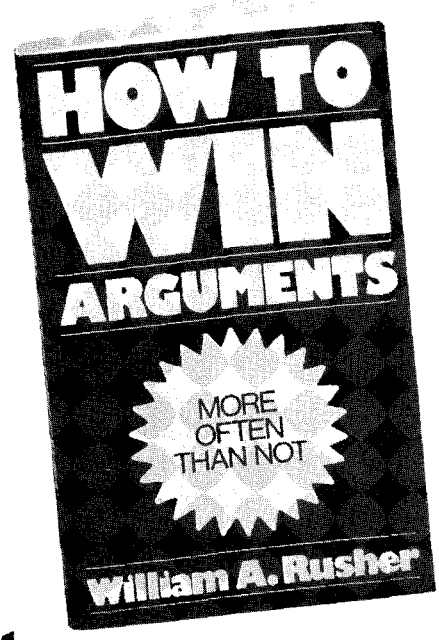
If you have ever come away from an argument feeling frustrated,

THIS IS THE BOOK FOR YOU!

Bill Rusher's act of treachery—giving away the house secrets—may make him rich and famous. At home, we will treat him like the Rosenbergs.

—WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

GET IT FREE!



To get this valuable book fill out and mail the card opposite this page today!

Like it or not, you always find yourself getting into discussions and arguments; it seems impossible to avoid nowadays. Don't you really owe it to yourself to learn how to handle such situations—how to argue *and win*?

Sound difficult? Not when you have *How to Win Arguments* handy. This practical and highly entertaining book is by William A. Rusher (*National Review*'s publisher). Rusher, a professional arguer *par excellence*, is eminently qualified to show *you* how to do it well.

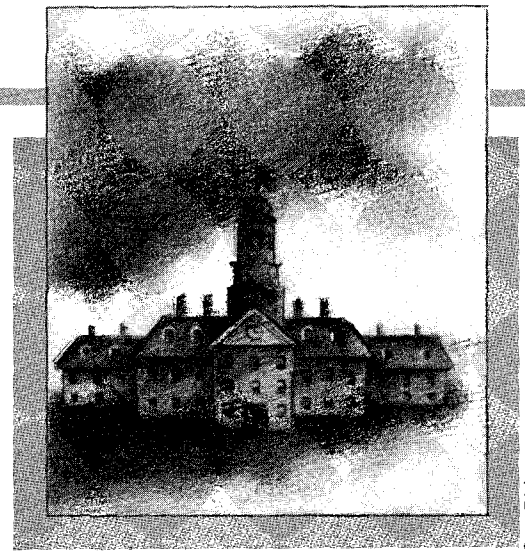
You've probably seen him in action on TV's *The Advocates*, *Good Morning America*, *Viewpoint*, or other shows, and marveled at his effectiveness. No one seems able to put him down. At the very least, he's going to give as good as he gets even when defending positions popularly assumed to be indefensible. Now, in *How to Win Arguments*, Rusher lets you in on the trade secrets and shows you how to acquire the skills and techniques necessary to hold your own in any argument or discussion.

This is not a treatise full of technical jargon—it's an enjoyable, informal guide to clear thinking. It covers all the basics from how to prepare for an argument and how to handle yourself under fire to how to allow for individual strengths and styles. There's even a fascinating chapter filled with advice from other expert debaters such as William F. Buckley, Jr., Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, John Kenneth Galbraith, and Phyllis Schlafly. As the book jacket says, it is indeed an ". . . entertaining and comprehensive guide to the techniques, rhetorical devices, and principles of successful argumentation." No argument there.

Right now, with this special offer, you have the opportunity to get this valuable book (a $9.75 retail value) absolutely FREE and postpaid. All you have to do is enter a subscription to *National Review* (or renew your current one, no matter when it expires) for one year at the regular $34 rate. Simply check your instructions on the handy card opposite and return it to us today. We'll send you your FREE copy of *How to Win Arguments* as fast as we can, and you'll start receiving NR hot off the press too. Offer is limited, so please act now.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A TYRANNY OF PITY



Steve Dininno

IN THE SPRING OF 1986, the Yale Political Union debated the resolution: "Resolved: CIA Discrimination against Homosexuals Is Justified." Up at the Divinity School, one grad student (who will remain nameless) got hold of a poster advertising the PU debate and posted it on the door of his dormitory room. You may not think that tacking up an announcement already posted all around campus is a particularly provocative act. You haven't been up at the Yale Divinity School lately.

A Divinity student named Katie Doran, representing the Gay-Straight Lesbian Coalition, knocked on this man's door. She told him the sign was offensive and he would have to take it down. He refused. Then Katie Doran played her ultimate card. She threatened to file sexual-harassment charges. Dean Joan Forsberg backed Miss Doran; the grad student was advised to take his poster down.

Enter Christopher Simser, a third-year Div student. To protest what he considered a "ludicrous violation" of personal liberty, he tacked the poster onto his own door. Katie Doran filed sexual-harassment charges against Simser. In the days that followed, she claimed, he harassed and intimidated her. Ultimately, Christopher Simser was kicked off campus, denied the right to participate in graduation ceremonies, and warned that if he did not make a public apology he might not receive his diploma at all.

That's the short version of the story—there's more to Simser's case, and we'll get to it in a little bit—but even the bare bones of his tale, as he relayed it to me, made my hair stand on end. What ever happened to free speech? You might suppose that the university in particular would jealously guard liberal values. But, of late, academia's commitment to the free exchange of ideas has been overshadowed by its growing attachment to a spiritual crusade, noble in intent, totalitarian in practice, to eradicate prejudice and discrimination.

Academia's drive to end discrimination is a new thing. Prior to the 1950s and '60s, admissions officers at many prestigious colleges (including Yale) surreptitiously imposed a quota system for Jews and Catholics and—of course—admitted no women. Like all converts, the university today is passionately dedicated to eradicating its former vice, no matter what the cost to decency, justice, or its own *raison d'être*: the pursuit of truth.

When I say the crusade against prejudice is totalitarian, I mean that in a precise sense of the word: The war against prejudice respects no boundary between word and deed, thought and action, soul and body. It is not enough to enforce a civilized code of behavior. We must pry into men's souls and wipe out incorrect thinking, undesirable emotions. The crusade against prejudice is no less than an attempt to drive evil out of men's hearts, to create a New Man.

In pursuit of this goal, colleges strive to create an atmosphere on campus that is "sensitive" to the feelings of minority students. The sense of righteousness that is the crusader's emotional payoff feeds on pity for victims. Thus, one of the anti-prejudice brigade's self-imposed tasks has been to convince an ever widening circle of people that they are, indeed, victims. This is known as raising their consciousnesses.

The process of making students "sensitive" to the victim

Miss Gallagher (Yale '82) is a Sometime Chairman of the Party of the Right who believes that extremism in the defense of liberty is more fun.

MARGARET ANNE GALLAGHER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GIVE HER A DIAMOND TO INFLAME HER SENSES.

Every quality diamond of a carat or more is one of nature's rarest and most exquisite phenomena—with more fire, more sparkle and scintillation.

Each is a visible reflection of you. Unique in all the world, possessing four characteristics that set it apart forever. They are called the 4C's: Cut, Color, Clarity and Carat-weight. These determine the value of a diamond—and to an astonishing degree, the beauty and value of your jewelry.

Your jeweler is the expert where diamonds are concerned. His knowledge can help make the acquisition of a quality diamond of a carat or more the beautiful, rewarding experience it should be.

A diamond is forever.

The ring shown features a quality diamond of 2.03 carats. For more information, write U.I. Advertising, 448 S. Hill Street, 12th Fl., Los Angeles, CA 90013.

A QUALITY DIAMOND OF A CARAT OR MORE.
A FIRE RARELY SEEN.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

status of their peers has, as its necessary corollary, the process of encouraging minorities to be easily affronted. I first ran into this phenomenon in the fall of 1978, as a Yale freshman. The Yale Political Union was debating affirmative action. Minority students staged a protest. There were signs and shouting and rhythmic chanting: "We are not debatable." It was very exciting; here I was at my first real, live demonstration.

A female grad student, observing that I sided with my conservative friends on this issue, attempted to convert me. "You wouldn't be where you are if it weren't for affirmative action," she said. I thought this rather presumptuous of her; I told her that in my personal experience I'd never noticed women were discriminated against at all. "What's your major?" she asked abruptly. Religious Studies. "See!" she exclaimed. "If you hadn't been subtly discriminated against, you'd be pursuing a lucrative field like mathematics." Actually, I had her on this one. I'd taken four years of math in high school, all the way up to calculus, and I knew exactly why I hated it. I protested again that it would be absurd, an injustice to the truly oppressed, to consider myself a victim; among other things, I was a Yale student.

She looked at me with compassion. "It's no sin to be a victim," she said encouragingly.

The intensity of the urge to be sensitive leads universities down some mighty peculiar paths. Jennifer Polli is the editor of the *Brown Spectator*, a conservative campus newspaper. She complained to me about one of Brown University's many programs to wipe out institutional racism. "Brown has something called the Third World Transition Period," she told me. "In this program, freshmen from the Third World—actually from lower Manhattan or wherever, but anyway students of color—arrive at campus three days early. They participate in a program supposed to help them make the transition from their previous, safe environment to the horribly racist atmosphere at Brown. No one knows for sure what goes on in these orientations because whites aren't allowed. University officials insist that whites can't come to these meetings because that's where minority students get out their aggression against racism, and whites, you know, are all racists."

An early orientation week for minority students is a common practice at many universities. Whatever the outcome elsewhere, at Brown it serves primarily to segregate white and minority students. "The TWTP program tends to segregate the campus," explains Miss Polli. "Minority freshmen come early, get to know one another, start eating together. By the time the white freshmen arrive, the minority freshmen have already made friends and dinner companions. They tend to stick together."

Brown has still more ideas on how to combat racism and homophobia. During orientation week, Brown freshmen are subjected to rap session after rap session on subjects such as "Racism at Brown" and "Homosexuality: What It Means to You."

Rachel Wohanka is a columnist for the official Brown student paper, the *Brown Herald*. She talked to *Washington Times* reporter Diana West about her experience during Brown's freshman orientation week. Miss Wohanka was brought up to believe that homosexual practices are sinful. At an orientation meeting, her freshman counselor admonished her and her fellow students that homophobia was unacceptable at Brown. Miss Wohanka spoke up: "I don't mind if I'm not confronted by it, if I don't have to *do* anything about it." She was trying to express herself tactfully because there was one student on her floor who she thought might be gay. She was not sufficiently sensitive for Brown. "I got yelled at by my counselor," she recalls. Miss Wohanka later wrote in a *Brown Herald* column: "A

SILENCING THE RIGHT

HERE ARE A few documented cases of efforts made to silence speakers on college campuses:

—In the spring of 1985, campus preacher Jed Smock, who simply held a banner supporting President Botha's reforms in South Africa, was tackled, kicked, and beaten by pro-disinvestment students at UC San Diego.

—In the fall of 1985, anti-AIDS activist Paul Cameron came to U. Mass.-Amherst; demonstrators disrupted his speech, throwing eggs and unplugging the audio equipment.

—In October of 1985, Contra leader Arturo Cruz tried to speak at UC San Diego, but was drowned out by student radicals who chanted slogans and pounded drums.

—In the winter of 1985, at UC Berkeley, campus hooligans stormed a showing of the anti-abortion film *The Silent Scream*, disrupting the meeting and attempting to destroy the tape.

—In the spring of 1985, Education Secretary William Bennett was disinvited by University of the Pacific after students and faculty radicals protested. Bennett's crime: support of educational budget restraint.

—In January of 1986, at Northwestern University, a female student repeatedly interrupted a speech by Reed Irvine. Irvine offered her the microphone to speak her mind, but she refused to surrender it afterward. Campus security physically removed the student, who was later cleared by the university.

—In April of 1986, J. Michael Waller, from the Council for Inter-American Security, and Jorge Rosales, a spokesman for the Contras, were hustled out of a hall at Harvard as disrupters stormed the podium shouting: "Death, death, death to fascists."

—In May of 1986, 14 students hissed, screamed, and shouted down a Nicaraguan freedom-fighter at Northwestern University.

The three most prominent organizations that reject freedom of speech are the International Committee against Racism (InCAR), the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). —LES CSORBA III

(Condensed from Appeasing the Censors, *a pamphlet issued by Accuracy in Academia.)*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lot of resentment builds up inside because it is not permissible at Brown to object—even vocally."

Elevating sensitivity to the ultimate moral principle is only one way colleges discourage the free exchange of ideas. Another way is by failing to protect unpopular speakers [see box]. In many places, this has become routine.

The University of California at Berkeley was the birthplace of the tumultuous "Free Speech Movement" that swept college campuses in the Sixties. Times have changed. In October of 1984, for example, Berkeley College Republicans held a rally on Berkeley Plaza celebrating the anniversary of the American liberation of Grenada. As part of the festivities, they invited a Grenadian medical student to address the audience. An angry crowd of about 150 spectators manhandled the med student off the plaza while campus police calmly watched.

At Wellesley College, College Republicans this April brought a representative of the Contras to speak. A few members of the crowd became abusive; they shouted slogans, threw bottles, incited students to violent protest. Tony Ravossa, State Chairman of Massachusetts CRs, recalls, "The campus police were totally unresponsive. We stayed on the podium as long as we could, until we felt we were in real physical danger. The Wellesley town police came in with six or eight cruisers and escorted us off campus and over the town line." Ravossa recounted similar disruptions at other Massachusetts campuses. At U. Mass., protestors turned large wooden crosses (supposed to represent the victims of Contra atrocities) into weapons against spectators.

Steve Diminno

Part of the explanation for this sort of thing is that college officials, like bureaucrats everywhere, have a bias in favor of order and harmony. When disruptions take place on campus, officials don't want to crack down on disrupters, because that in turn may breed more disruption. Instead they blame the speakers for inciting disorder. When CRs at Duke invited Contra leader Adolfo Calero to speak, campus leftists protested vigorously. Campus police tried to persuade the CRs not to hold the meeting. "Why would you want to bring someone this controversial to campus, anyway?" they asked.

Calero tried to speak at Northwestern University too. Before he could say a word, Barbara Foley, a Marxist English professor, grabbed the microphone and shouted to the crowd: "We have to stop this. Stop it! This monster—Adolfo Calero— . . . has no right to speak tonight, and we are not going to let him speak tonight. He should feel lucky to get out of here alive." A mob of protestors shouted: "Fascists have no right to speak," and threw pig's blood on Calero. Not a good day for academic freedom.

Nevertheless, the Northwestern English Department and the dean of Northwestern College recommended that Professor Foley be granted tenure. Only the personal intervention of the president of the university, Arnold Weber, prevented her from becoming a permanent fixture there.

Perhaps you can't expect campus police to be champions of academic freedom. But the faculty members who supported Barbara Foley ought to have known better. One of the problems seems to be that the more conservative the outside world has become, the more universities seem to struggle to maintain (read: impose) their fragile left-wing political consensus. This apprehension helps explain the particular excesses of the anti-prejudice brigade. The entire campus Left, feeling besieged, is under greater than usual temptation to slight free speech.

In this setting, the case of Wayne Dick, made famous by free-speech advocate Nat Hentoff in the *Village Voice*, is less surprising. Dick, *NR* readers may recall, is the Yale undergraduate who put up posters satirizing Gay/Lesbian Awareness Days at Yale. Several prominent gay students mentioned by name in Dick's posters filed charges against him. Sexual harassment had become the weapon of choice for suppressing free speech at Yale this spring. Like Simser, Dick voiced his opinion on gay rights. Like Simser, Dick was forced to defend himself on charges of sexual harassment. Like Simser, Dick lost. The Yale Executive Committee placed Wayne Dick on probation for the remainder of his time at Yale.

To put Dick's punishment in perspective, a group of students who, in the course of an anti-apartheid protest this April, took over school property and physically prevented employees from entering Yale buildings were given only verbal reprimands. Their actions aroused less disapproval than Dick's words.

The funny part is, if you accept the tenets of liberal ideology, Yale officials were right. Gays were emotionally distressed by Dick's posters, no doubt about it. They felt endangered. Therefore, Wayne Dick's opinions constituted harassment. In the liberal ideology, being a victim is self-defining. If you are frightened, you're being harassed. If you feel like a victim, then you've been victimized.

Katie Doran, the Div student who filed sexual-harassment charges against Simser, for example, really did feel that Simser was threatening her. When Chris and some friends drove around the Div School parking lot, she just assumed they were trying to intimidate her. When a group of 15 or so conservative Yale undergraduates and alumni met Simser for dinner at the Div School dining hall, Miss Doran and her friends sincerely believed they contemplated violence. After all, Simser's friends were toting a baseball bat—they had just come from playing softball at the Party of the Right's annual picnic. (The Party of the Right is the most conservative party in the Yale Political Union.)

The following Sunday, according to an article in the *New Haven Register*, a local pastor implied from his pulpit that a group of bat-wielding fascists had prowled the Divinity School intent on bashing fags. Yale administrators began receiving calls from faculty members and alumni appalled that neo-Nazis were loose at Yale.

Brice Peyre was at that meeting of friends in the Yale Divinity School dining hall, which Katie Doran also later described as an attempt by "the neo-Nazi movement of America" to intimidate gays and lesbians. Brice Peyre is a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conservative libertarian and a friend of Chris Simser's. He is also gay.

Ask Peyre about the Div School's treatment of Simser and he gets angry. "It's an incredible miscarriage of justice," says Peyre. "No one was being harassed at that dinner. I guess people were just threatened by having a group walk in with Chris."

A friend of mine, in his role as enterprising freelance reporter, taped a revealing interview with Katie Doran last May. Here is her account of Dean Forsberg's original conversation asking the first (unnamed) divinity student to take the poster down.

"Later on in the day, he went to see [Forsberg]. She told him, well, he was expressing his freedom of thought and speech but that it was offensive. We all live in a community and we should be respectful of others . . . ," Miss Doran says.

"Was he ordered to take it down?"

"He was asked to take it down. He was told that he had to, or I was going to bring harassment charges against him."

"Did Forsberg say how the ruling would go?"

"She did say she had been talking to the sexual-harassment committee downtown [at the main Yale campus] because we have our own up here at the Divinity School. And they said it was offensive and we probably had good grounds. If we had to bring a suit to the formal sexual-harassment committee, then they would probably agree that it was harassment. So in order to avoid that, she suggested that he take it down. Which he did."

When Simser then put up his own poster, Miss Doran was more outraged.

"When I saw the second sign go up I found it to be a real attack. I mean [Simser] said he was working on a freedom-of-speech issue. I believe that possibly that was the case, but he also had a past history of verbally harassing gay and lesbian students," says Miss Doran.

I have yet to run into a more pure version of the crusader mentality than this. Motivation is enshrined; impressions are all; facts are nothing. There is a strange dichotomy implicit in this attitude: Was Simser making a noble, disinterested assertion of the right of free speech, or was he expressing his own true thoughts? To Miss Doran, that seems a key issue. Speech is never just speech. We must probe deeper into the motivations of the speaker. Simser's implied statement—that CIA discrimination against homosexuals is justified—is permissible only if it is insincere.

Katie Doran was also asked how she knew Simser's friends were neo-Nazis. Did they wear paramilitary uniforms? Were they anti-Semites?

"No, not anti-Semitism. I mean extreme conservatism, basically very, very extreme conservatism . . ."

"Which you equate with being neo-Nazi?"

"No, not on a regular basis—there are ultra-conservatives—much of that does not connote a political alliance—they're religious or whatever. I would characterize it that way, I guess, based on some of their dress, which seems to be more militaristic than need be. Flak jackets and mirrored sunglasses."

I made some inquiries of others present at the time. It turns out that among the group of diners inspiring fear and loathing at the Divinity School, one student did indeed wear a flak jacket. That particular neo-Nazi's name is Rosenzweig. The number of students sporting mirrored sunglasses could not be determined.

The problem, at Yale and elsewhere, is not just liberal bias against conservatives, or even a disregard for free speech per se. It's the abandonment of objective standards of action in favor of subjective evaluations of actions. The objective standards of justice are a necessary casualty of the larger battle against prejudice, because prejudice, after all, is not an action but a state of mind.

THE CURRENT ATTACK on free speech has a distinctively American character. In Europe, Marxist intellectuals would be more likely to attack free speech as an irrelevant value, a bourgeois luxury. In the American academy, those who subvert free speech usually do so by redefining it as action. In Simser's and Dick's cases, speech was redefined as harassment. At Duke, Wellesley, and countless other colleges, unpopular speech is called an incitement to riot.

In America today, there are certain issues that cannot be discussed both honestly and safely. Race is one. On campus, a statement about race is evaluated, not in terms of its truth or falsehood, but as to whether it forwards or frustrates the quest for racial equality. What is taking place is a vigorous battle to extend this special status to questions of sex and sexual orientation, to ensure that all statements on these subjects are judged not by their truth or even their sincerity, but by their political effect.

In ordinary society, it may be a good thing that people put on these intellectual blinders; it may, perhaps, lead to a more amicable nation. But in universities, free speech is not only a question of individual rights. A university's reason for being is to discover and disseminate knowledge. When academics attack the unfettered exchange of ideas, they attack the idea of the university itself.

What kind of society does the liberal ideology seek to construct on our nation's campuses? A culture of sissies, easily hurt, always begging for special protection, where individual self-respect is precariously attached to group love, where sticks and stones may break your bones, but words can make you cry.

Of course it's unpleasant to feel that there are people in your community who detest you for no good reason. I can testify to that. I never learned to enjoy strolling through the Old Campus on a crisp winter night and hearing some unknown, faceless voice shout out, "Fascist!" But to be a conservative at Yale is to know that goes with the territory. I didn't whine about it, or feel sorry for myself, or imagine I couldn't possibly get an equal education because from time to time I could expect some student to slander me, sight unseen.

The greatest disservice the sissy ideology does to minorities is that it teaches them that equality depends on the suppression of liberty; that they (and, being a woman, I should say: we) are too weak and fragile to prosper under democratic conditions. And that it fails to teach us that emotional security and a lasting self-esteem can only be won by an independent mind, by the courage to stand for one's convictions against a hostile crowd, by the audacity to neither demand nor require community approval in order to live. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHARLES KESLER

SHANTY TIME

THE HARVARD COMMENCEMENT ceremony was exactly as I had remembered it from my undergraduate days. Only the architecture had changed. A "South African shantytown" had been erected in the Old (or West) Yard, where the graduates and alumni assemble before marching into Tercentenary Theatre.

Shanties are *de rigueur* at leading universities this year, and as shantytowns go, this one was ambitious. It boasted a striking 16-foot "ivory tower," intended to stigmatize all passersby whose consciousness could not be raised to the point of supporting the divestiture of Harvard's $417 million in South Africa-related investments. One would think that the very trendiness of the shanties would offend the vanity of the protestors: Can't Harvard liberals do better than ape Dartmouth liberals? But the attractions of fashion are half the point of campus causes.

Guy Lawrence

To every cause there is a season, usually the spring. The shanties went up (illegally) early on the morning of April 15. Now, there is no disputing that apartheid is an evil, but why should shanties particularly call to mind that evil? Shanties are first of all a reminder of poverty, only secondarily (if that) of homelands and squatter policies; and besides, it is indisputable that South African blacks are less poor than blacks in any other African country. Nevertheless, who could blame Harvard for thinking that it was better to have students constructing shanties than deconstructing works of literature, or carrying deans down the steps of University Hall, as their more rambunctious forebears did in the 1960s? At least they will graduate knowing a little carpentry.

Fair enough, if only the university did not have to corrupt itself in the process. Vice President and General Counsel Daniel Steiner, for example, was not content merely to roll his eyes heavenward at this example of youthful high spirits: He proclaimed the shanties to be legitimate expressions of free speech, around which campus police were promptly posted on round-the-clock guard. Harvard's hospitality temporarily perplexed the South African Solidarity Committee (SASC) activists, who had expected to bask in the celebrity of persecution, only to find themselves cast into the oblivion of toleration. But still there was a chance for glory: Surely the university would not allow the shanties to stay up through commencement. The tension mounted until commencement eve, when the new Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, A. Michael Spence, released a letter to the alumni and the class of 1986 explaining why the shanties would be allowed to remain.

As an example of high-sounding nonsense, the dean's letter has few peers in the history of academe. After explaining that he had politely asked the SASC protestors to dismantle the shanties for commencement and that, regrettably, they had refused, he girded himself to issue this ringing reproach: "I had hoped that the process this spring would establish the viability of an approach in which different choices among competing rights and interests would be resolved reasonably in an atmosphere of mutual respect by members of this community. While the process has been successful in important respects [for instance?], and certainly the right to protest has been widely honored, I am forced to admit that the respecting of rights has been to some extent one-sided, that a purely voluntary system of balancing rights does not seem feasible, and that what might be regarded as an experiment has not been entirely successful. . . .

"After consulting with colleagues, I have decided to let the shanties stand for now even though there has been ample time for the expression of protest. I have done so in part because there should be no doubt about the commitment of this institution . . . to the principle of the right to protest although that right, like any other, must ultimately be balanced with other rights and interests."

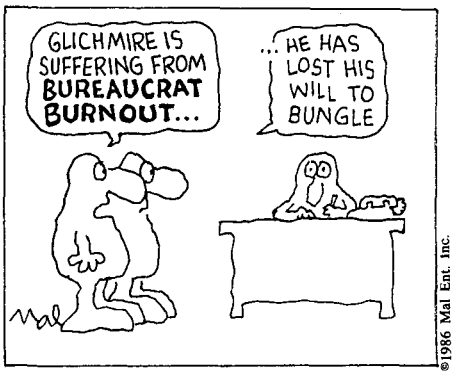
But *why*? How do we figure out what these rights and interests are? Or does every asserted desire merit some consideration? And what is this spurious "right to protest" on someone else's property?

In defense of this muddle one can at least say that its awfulness is apparent. It leaps out from the very language, which is not English but the argot of academic liberalism, a facile tongue inspired by the conviction that "rights" and

Mr. Kesler, who received his PhD in political science from Harvard this spring, never studied carpentry there.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

help !!!!



"The bad news is, there's a 60 Minutes *crew outside. The good news is, it's Andy Rooney."*

I DON'T UNDERSTAND.... THEY SAID THIS WAS IMPOSSIBLE.... THEY SAID THIS COULD NEVER HAPPEN!....
TAX SHELTER
REFORM
1986 THE ROANOKE TIMES & WORLD-NEWS / NEWS AMERICA SYNDICATE
CORRELL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Author! Author!

Although Krafft-Ebing never meant
To write a dirty book
(He Latinized the juicy parts
Lest pre-teens took a look),
The work has been a sellout since
Its '86 release,
Suggesting fame and talk shows for
That sly old dog, Ed Meese.

W. H. von Dreele

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"interests" do not depend upon ascertainable and demonstrable principles, but rather are inert facts—data—to be "balanced" in a great "process" that will establish the "viability" of an "approach" to a "feasible" system, which "experiment," alas, will never be "entirely successful." This is technocracy masquerading as moral philosophy; it is ersatz humanism, the moral sensibility that does not bother to argue its positions because it knows *a priori* that arguments over moral matters are a waste of time. Balance the damn things and be done with them!

It is futile to argue with Mr. Spence's pronouncements, which resemble the strictures of a sixth-grade teacher. Nonetheless, his clinching argument is at least candid: "Moreover, alternative courses of action seem to me to present greater risks of more significant disruption of the commencement ceremonies." Ah, there we have it. After all the talk of "rights" and "balancing," he was simply afraid.

Thus, the official reaction to the shanties was neither to enforce the rules against misbehavior nor to surrender to the pleas for divestiture. Instead, the dean merely wished the shanties would go away. When they did not, the administration responded by complaining of the protestors' impoliteness and by promising to be tougher next time.

I could not help remembering my first Harvard commencement, when I sat with my classmates listening to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn warn that "A decline in courage may be the most striking feature that an outside observer notices in the West today. . . . Such a decline in courage is particularly noticeable among the ruling and intellectual elites, causing an impression of a loss of courage by the entire society. . . . Political and intellectual functionaries exhibit this depression, passivity, and perplexity in their actions and in their statements, and even more so in their self-serving rationales as to how realistic, reasonable, and intellectually and even morally justified it is to base state policies on weakness and cowardice." □

STEPHEN WEEKS

NOTES FROM THE UNDERGROUND

Sara Schwartz

WHEN John Colyandro arrived at the University of Texas as a freshman in 1982, he was surprised by the political climate there. Despite the political sea change in the country at large, the campus at first seemed rigidly left-wing, almost unaware of the challenges to liberal ideology that had been transforming the national debate. Colyandro recalls: "The editor of the *Daily Texan* was extremely left-wing politically and socially. Editorial after editorial in the paper was atrocious. The Left staged protests constantly. It seemed a week didn't go by without at least two."

He soon discovered that his first impression was partly wrong. There was a great deal of conservative sentiment on campus. Many of his fellow students shared his own budding conservative political principles; many more clung to values that kept radical politics from being a viable extracurricular amusement. But there was no organized or articulate political opposition on campus. The initiative as well as the established channels of communication had been ceded to the Left.

His enterprising response to the situation was to found, in the spring of 1983, the Texas Review Society, a nonprofit foundation that had as its main goal the publication of an alternative campus newspaper, the *Texas Review*.

It wasn't easy. First, Colyandro had to raise money. Grants from two conservative foundations, the Institute for Educational Affairs and the United States Industrial Council Foundation, helped. Then he had to assemble a staff. He came up with 15 willing and able volunteers, few of

Mr. Weeks, a former NR *staffer, attended four colleges, ranging in prestige from Harvard to Norwalk Community College, in pursuit of his bachelor's degree.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whom had any idea of how to put together a newspaper. Nevertheless the *Texas Review* published its first issue that spring. Since then circulation has climbed from one thousand to more than 5,500; the paper has become a presence on campus and has even attracted the interest of the state and local political establishments.

The *Texas Review* is not alone. Somewhere between forty and sixty explicitly conservative campus papers have been started in the past five years. When the movement started it wasn't a movement—just a few autonomous rebel bands from campuses such as Dartmouth, the University of Illinois, and the University of California at San Diego. In part because of the national attention, and infamy, garnered by the *Dartmouth Review*, the fashion spread, to the point where founding a newspaper has become the tactic of choice for campus conservatives.

Not many of the alternative papers are as successful as the *Texas Review*. Though in total the alternatives have more than a million readers, and successful papers count readers in the thousands (most of them nonpolitical), all too many of the papers are read only by a few hundred, or a few dozen, of the ideologically faithful. Papers are opening and closing all the time; many have a life span of less than a year of irregular publication.

There are a lot of hurdles to be cleared in starting a paper, the first and highest, as John Colyandro found, being money. Most of the alternative papers either do not get or will not accept school funding. It is very difficult for a new paper to attract advertising. So the vast majority of the conservative alternative papers have turned to the Institute for Educational Affairs, which is headed by former Secretary of the Treasury William Simon and Irving Kristol, co-editor of *The Public Interest*. Indeed, without IEA there would not be a conservative-student-newspaper movement to speak of.

In addition to start-up grants and subsequent gifts, IEA provides advisory services once the papers get going. IEA is also trying to form a national advertising network for the papers, in hopes that their combined circulation can attract a significant amount of national advertising. Lately, say IEA spokesmen, the foundation has been getting approximately one phone call per week from prospective college journalists eager to start a paper. If they can demonstrate the ability to pull it off, IEA usually helps.

There are other external difficulties as well. The papers are usually born in a hostile environment. The official school paper is not only a natural competitor but usually a political opponent as well, and it usually enjoys official competitive advantages. When the *Texas Review* began to get advertising, it ran up against an obscure school regulation restricting the distribution of student publications that carried ads, a regulation that explicitly exempted the *Daily Texan*. The *Texas Review* needed help from the ACLU to get a court order allowing it to resume distribution.

Not infrequently, harassment from a faculty made up largely of former left-wing activists unconcerned with free speech has been a real threat to alternative papers. The prolonged official harassment of the *Dartmouth Review* has received national press attention, but less famous papers have had similar experiences. The *Hawkeye Review* (now known as the *Campus Review*) of the University of Iowa was simply barred from campus distribution until it too received help from the ACLU.

But the biggest obstacles to success are internal. The successful papers vary in style, tone, editorial content, political strategy, and layout. But they all have a good sense of their own identities as student papers. They run on the assumption that most students know exactly what they want out of college: a longer version of summer camp. Successful conservative papers keep the campers amused, or at least outraged. They also focus on campus events, making themselves not only entertaining but useful. Editorially and organizationally, the successful papers aim at integrating themselves into campus life; their goal is to be an alternative, not a fringe. By contrast, the unsuccessful papers usually turn out to have been exercises in editorial or organizational solipsism—products of a self-limiting clique, devoted to long essays on national politics, of far more interest to the writers than to any possible readers.

BUT THOUGH the successful papers aim at a student audience, usually they must accept that they do not have the resources to compete directly with the official papers in comprehensiveness of coverage. They must develop a special appeal, which they tend to do with a combination of outrageous humor and guerrilla journalism, going behind enemy lines to take juicy but unprotected targets. Not surprisingly, guerrilla journalism can be pretty funny.

The *Dartmouth Review* made its reputation by the uninhibited use of both tactics. On one occasion it published detailed accounts of the classroom antics of a racist black music teacher with little interest in his course's supposed subject matter. This so enraged the teacher that he threatened bodily harm to the young lady who wrote the story. In another issue, a *Review* staffer lampooned affirmative action by writing—in black jive—a column by a fictional illiterate beneficiary of affirmative-action programs. The column provoked a lot of righteous indignation from pious folk who seem never to have heard of Eddie Murphy, but for the *Saturday Night Live* generation anything goes.

The *Northwestern Review* is an alternative paper that has gradually evolved into a publication of broad appeal, covering all aspects of campus life while remaining editorially conservative. Editor Jason Karlawish says: "Irreverence is essential. If you take yourself seriously you're dead." The *Texas Review* at one point had a mole on the staff of the *Daily Texan* who wrote, pseudonymously, a column giving a behind-the-scenes look at the official paper. The *Texas Review* also made a habit of actively promoting political controversy rather than merely reporting it. After leftist students circulated a petition to stock "suicide pills" in the infirmary in case of nuclear attack, *TR* staffers started a petition to stockpile guns and ammunition in case of a Soviet invasion. Not exactly journalism, the petition did broaden the debate, an alternative paper's essential goal.

The short-lived *Yale Free Press* excelled at guerrilla warfare [see box]. The paper rarely ran over eight pages, and it put out only seven irregular issues in its one full year of publication. But nearly every issue included a blockbuster story that compelled the attention of the campus. The *Free Press* publicized an FBI investigation—previously unreported in Connecticut—into possible links between two aides to Connecticut Senator Lowell Weicker and the KGB; exposed a plan to revive the abolished "freshman mailing"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(by which incoming freshmen are informed about extracurricular activities before they arrive) exclusively for the use of gay-activist groups; and, as a crowning triumph, sent two of its staffers to cover the war in Afghanistan during spring break. It also had a rambunctious sense of humor: After *Time* magazine named the computer "Man of the Year," the *Free Press* named New York Governor Mario Cuomo "Woman of the Year," and Leonid Brezhnev "Inanimate Object of the Year."

But the *Free Press* also displayed many of the typical weaknesses of failed papers. Editorially extroverted, it was organizationally atomistic. The irregularity of its publication kept it from becoming a fixture on campus. And it paid too little attention to building an ongoing organization: After the paper's founder and publisher left, the paper died. By contrast, papers such as the *Dartmouth Review*, the *Texas Review*, and the *Northwestern Review* have attracted enough talent to guarantee their futures, for the time being anyway.

If, however, there is a vast gulf between the few vigorous, creative, daring, and successful—or at least enterprising—papers, and the dozens of journals that serve chiefly as graveyards for unread and unreadable propaganda, yet they all are threatened by a common vice: ideology.

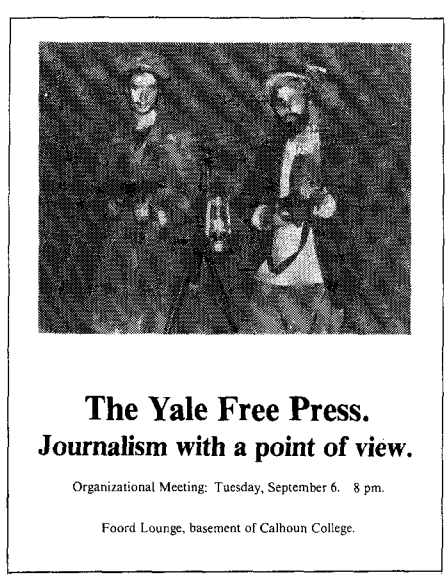
The modern American conservative movement derived much of its original impetus from the struggle to loosen liberalism's ideological stranglehold on the campuses. Twenty-seven years ago, in the heat of that battle, the editor of this journal noted "that American higher education has mostly developed into an engine for the imposition of the prevailing orthodoxy, and that the same people, by and large, who are involved in this operation do not hesitate to instruct the community about the imperatives of academic freedom." The goal of the alternative newspapers is to invigorate political discussion on campus. But by becoming too fiercely ideological they may not only fail to accomplish that goal but positively impede it. No alternative newspaper is in the position to "impose" an orthodoxy. But the papers are in a position to encourage a Manichean political environment in which both their supporters and their opponents come to feel the necessity of assigning every opinion to the Good or Evil power, a sure way to make all parties to the discussion more belligerent and less intelligent.

To a certain extent the problem is self-limiting. As William Buckley noted in *Up from Liberalism*, from which the quotation above was also taken, "No one is more tedious than the totally ideologized man, the man who forces ev-

KABUL-LA BOOLA

WHEN I GOT out of college, I didn't know what I was going to do. But I knew it was going to be great. A year later, after flirting alternately with vagrancy and the CIA, I began to realize that the best way to combine opposition to Soviet imperialism with not having to work for a living was journalism. I decided that if the time was right for black jive at Dartmouth, surely McCarthyism at Yale was long overdue. I began to form a plan.

I would create a college newspaper that would surpass the *Dartmouth Review* in the hatred it inspired among the leftist element as well as in the financial support it received from an assortment of Pinochet supporters, retired German officers, and neoconservatives. But I would go further. In pursuit of journalistic excellence and foundation funding, I would go to Afghanistan. Not only would my presence mitigate the shortage of journalists that occurs whenever the Soviets invade, the trip might also yield a story that would outshine even the *Yale Daily News*'s annual coverage of Bladderball Day.


The Yale Free Press.
Journalism with a point of view.
Organizational Meeting: Tuesday, September 6. 8 pm.
Foord Lounge, basement of Calhoun College.

The first step was to think of a name for our paper. There had been quite a few free-speech crises at Yale; we wanted to cause another; so we called our effort the *Yale Free Press*. The university, which imagines that it owns the name Yale, didn't want to let us use it. We toyed with the idea of saying permission to use the name had been granted by Yale Auto Body, but instead gave in to the demand for a disclaimer. This is what they got:

> This newspaper is published weekly by students and alumni of Yale University. Yale University is not responsible for its contents. By the same token, the *Yale Free Press* is not responsible for the contents of Yale University.

For one glorious year we brought light and reason to the university. We ran campus exposés, stories on Connecticut politics, and satires on pompous Yale publications such as "Alcohol and the Yale Student" (we urged a closer relationship). The back page of every issue featured a parody ad from the Committee for Liberal Reform: "We are not Pro-Fratricide. We are Pro-Choice. Perhaps in a perfect world there would be no fratricide. But this is the real world, and sibling rivalry is a fact of life."

We capped it all off with our "Spring Break in Afghanistan" issue, in which Greg D'Elia and I chronicled our adventures among a wacky bunch of holy warriors who gave new meaning to the phrase Red-baiting.

In the end, I'm not sure what we accomplished, but we had a lot of fun and we irritated a lot of people. And I've always thought that, especially at a place like Yale, irritating people is its own reward. —CHARLES BORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMUNISM VS CHRISTIANITY

THE FINAL BATTLE?

$35.00 Per Video Cassette — Order 5 or More $25.00 each

Available on VIDEO CASSETTE and AUDIO CASSETTE

A SERIES OF SEVEN (7) VIDEO OR AUDIO CASSETTES ON THE FINAL BATTLE GROUND BETWEEN COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANITY FEATURING REV. ENRIQUE RUEDA, REV. REGIS N. BARWIG, HUMBERTO BELLI AND OTHERS ....

THE POPE, CATHOLICISM AND COMMUNISM by Rev. Regis N. Barwig 1271V
Striking account of the turbulent history between two opposite philosophies and the Roman Pontiffs who have steered Church policy.

THE SUFFERING CHURCH UNDER COMMUNISM by Dr. Janus Subsczynski 1267V
Polish freedom fighter gives personal testimony to Church suppression by Eastern bloc countries since World War II.

NICARAGUA: CHRISTIANS UNDER FIRE by Mr. Humberto Belli 1268V
Former editor of La Prensa documents the divide and conquer techniques of the Sandinista regime which are attempts to form a state-run Catholic Church.

FACING UP TO ATHEISM AND MORAL ISSUES by Rev. Richard Roach, S.J. 1269V
Professor of Theology at Marquette University gives advice on how a Christian can deal with atheism, secular humanism and abortion on a day-to-day basis.

THE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA MACHINE AND ITS VICTIMS by Bernard Yoh 1270V
Communications Director of Accuracy in Media relates how the Communists take advantage of the "free press" in the West to distort its true intent of domination.

CENTRAL AMERICA CRISIS by Dolf Droge 1272V
Enlightening analysis of Communist involvement in Central America and its consequences for United States security.

THE ATTACK ON THE CATHOLIC TRADITION by Rev. Enrique Rueda 1273V
Cuban-born priest exposes how Liberation Theology is being used to usurp orthodox Church teaching and practices.

KEEP THE FAITH, INC.
810 Belmont Avenue
P.O. Box 8261
North Haledon, N.J. 07508

FOR RUSH ORDERS:
1-800-221-1564

Order Form

NRM

Please Circle Your Cassette Selections:
1271V 1267V 1268V 1269V
1270V 1272V 1273V

☐ Please send me the Video selections I have circled @ **$35.00** each plus $2.00 shipping and handling. ☐ **VHS** ☐ **Beta**

☐ Please send me the selections I have circled on AUDIO Cassettes.
All Video Selections are also available on AUDIO cassettes for **$5.00** plus $1.00 postage and handling. (Minimum $10.00 order)

FREE POPE JOHN PAUL II's FIFTH ENCYCLICAL WRITTEN TEXT

☐ Please send me 5 or more videos for $25.00 per cassette and send me the FREE written text on Pope John Paul II's fifth encyclical, "Dominum Et Vivificantem".

☐ Please send me 5 or more Audio cassettes and send me the FREE written text on Pope John Paul II's fifth encyclical.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

TEL. HOME (___) _____ OFFICE (___) _____

Computer Number
_ _ _ _ _ _ _
(found on mailing label)

☐ **VISA** ☐ **MC** ☐ **AMEX**

Card # _____

Exp. Date _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ery passing phenomenon into his ideological mold . . ." The most far gone of the student ideologists are the most divorced from reality and publish the most tedious and least-read papers.

But even the good papers, good in the sense of being readable and aggressive, can do harm. In fact, they can do more harm than the boring papers. They can also do wrong. The *Dartmouth Review*, ordinarily so well served by the enterprising iconoclasm of its editors, has committed a few egregious violations of even those modest ethical restrictions that should apply to underground student papers. In one case the *Review* accused a campus figure of supporting the North American Man-Boy Love Association and then, faced with a law suit, publicly repudiated the charge. This kind of reporting is nearly as much a blunder as a crime: Ultimately the principled conservative position on homosexuality—that it is politically offensive only when it demands special privileges—is more persuasive than fag-bashing. Other papers, less well known, have been similarly irresponsible.

The conservative papers are under considerable pressure to regard their ideology as their sole reason for being. The papers and their editors owe their notoriety as much to their ideology as to their journalistic skill, even when that skill is considerable; the larger conservative community subsidizes them for ideological reasons; on some papers the top editors owe their positions to the fact that there is less competition in a small ideological pond—on the college daily they might not have made the grade, though there would always be the excuse of political prejudice.

John Colyandro says he has found that the students drawn to conservative alternative papers are "activists who tend to be intellectuals." The conservative papers ought to make it their goal to graduate writers and editors who refuse to sacrifice their own intellectual freedom to the idols of ideology and political ambition. □

TOM BETHELL

ORTHODOXY AND THE LIBERAL ARTS

LEWIS LEHRMAN, chairman of Citizens for America and founder of the Lehrman Institute, was the commencement speaker at Thomas Aquinas College, near Santa Paula, California, 65 miles northwest of Los Angeles. The auxiliary bishop of Los Angeles said an open-air Mass in Latin. Twenty-seven students graduated before a good-sized gathering of relatives and friends on the campus, near Los Padres National Forest.

"Today we are engaged in a great civil war," Lehrman told the graduates, "an intellectual civil war testing what kind of nation we shall choose to be in our third century." A self-described "rookie Catholic" who converted 18 months ago, Lehrman closed with a call to action: "We must work confidently toward the day when Americans will again pray in public places as they please, when abortion on demand shall be no more, when the child exemption in the tax code shall be raised to $5,000, and the tax code shall be an unapologetic pro-family institution; when the courts shall do their duty . . ."

After a reception inside the main building, Lehrman engaged the students in a colloquy for more than an hour in one of the temporary classrooms nearby. The students were attentive and asked intelligent questions. Some of them no doubt would be in Washington, D.C., within a few years. Already there are about 45 Thomas Aquinas graduates in the Washington area, some teaching in Catholic schools, a good number working in the public-policy arena. They constitute a "network," thereby enhancing their effectiveness and morale. They work in the executive branch, on Capitol Hill, and in various lobbying groups, mostly promoting the agenda outlined by Lehrman.

Such practical involvement may seem paradoxical, considering that the school curriculum is based on the Great

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books. Authors such as St. Thomas Aquinas, Aristotle, Euclid, and Newton might seem inadequate preparation for the political struggle in Washington; that such an education has instead proved to be a stimulus to political involvement is a tribute to the idea of a liberal education.

Founded in 1971, Thomas Aquinas College is at the forefront of a modest counter-reformation movement toward the restoration of orthodox Catholic education [see box]. The founder, president, and guiding light of Thomas Aquinas is Ronald McArthur, who taught philosophy at St. Mary's College near San Francisco before breaking away in the late Sixties with a small circle of friends to found the new college. It opened in a leased Claretian seminary in Malibu Canyon two years later. When the property was sold, in 1978, the school moved to the Santa Paula campus, donated by an oil company. This fall the college will have 135 students, with perhaps forty freshmen.

The financial struggle to keep the school going has been considerable. More than $1 million of the annual $2.3-million budget must be raised privately, and the school receives no government money. Most buildings on the campus are temporary, and the number of students cannot be increased until more buildings are put up. A final enrollment of 350 is envisioned. McArthur estimates that an additional $10 million would be required to complete the campus.

But as anyone who has met him can attest, Ronald McArthur has personal qualities of leadership—a kind of infectious enthusiasm and a resoluteness of purpose in the face of adversity—that have inspired a collegial loyalty, enabling the whole enterprise to press ahead undaunted.

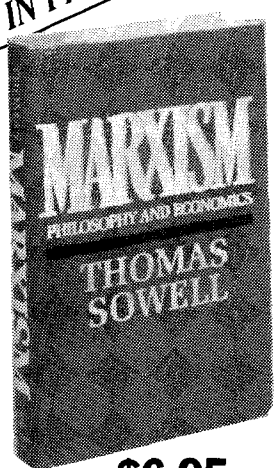
"I think all colleges go through this kind of thing," he told me in his temporary office (the future site, he hopes, of a classroom building). "We're only 15 years old, and we started with no money." Meanwhile, he and the faculty have been able to provide the kind of education that they originally envisioned. In fact, he said, the life of the school has more than met his hopes, because the students have been better than he had imagined. The 1984 edition of *Barron's Most Prestigious Colleges* places Thomas Aquinas College in the "highly competitive" group, i.e., the top 6 per cent.

"By the end of the Sixties, Catholic schools were in turmoil," he told me. "They were becoming secularized, hostile to traditional education, and increasingly hostile to the supernatural life. And so we thought we were responsible for trying to start a college which would be concerned with the great books, with the teaching of St. Thomas, and would have an atmosphere both moral and religious which would fit with the intellectual life we wanted to live with the students."

Some of the campus rules hark back to an earlier time: no male-female visitation in the dormitories; women wear skirts to class, men may not wear T-shirts; no alcohol in student rooms.

Textbooks are not used at Thomas Aquinas (they are

NOW AVAILABLE IN PAPERBACK



$6.95

LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS
Order # TS4120

ORDER TOLL-FREE
1-800-238-2200
ext 500
Continental U.S.
• 24 hours a day •
• 7 days a week •

Shattering The Myths Of Marxism

For those familiar with Marxian theory, Thomas Sowell's lively book shatters existing interpretations based on repetition instead of scholarship. For the unitiated, it is a lucid, step-by-step introduction to the subject.

A sampler of the provocative points that make MARXISM a splendid read:

- Why Marx's ringing use of the term "capitalism" was "something of a verbal coup."
- Why "Marxism was — and remains — a mighty instrument for the acquisition and maintenance of political power."
- How Marxists speak boldly "in the name of the workers without their consent [but] in defiance of their contrary views and actions."

"There are many books on Marxism, but this is one of the best." —Library Journal

"... an extraordinarily lucid and carefully reasoned book...."
—Professor Douglas C. North, Washington University

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE:
If for any reason you are dissatisfied with any book, just return it within 30 days for a refund.

Send your order to:
LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS, Dept. NAY
532 Broadway, New York, NY 10012

☐ Please send me ____ copies of Thomas Sowell's *MARXISM: Philosophy and Economics* for only $6.95 each plus $1.00 postage and handling, or $2.00 UPS ($2.00 for foreign orders). *NY State residents add appropriate sales tax.*

☐ Send me your FREE 32-page catalog of books on liberty.

☐ My check or money order is enclosed for $ ____ .
☐ Please bill my ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard

Acct. No. _____
Expir. Date _____
Signature _____
Name (Please Print) _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"by and large destructive of intelligence," McArthur considers), nor are lectures a part of the syllabus ("experts who lecture at undergraduates don't do anything for their minds"). Discussion is held to be the best way of learning and understanding: Students mostly work together in seminars with a tutor. From his teachers, McArthur said, he learned that the way to educate was "to use the great books and to develop the students' minds by helping them make judgments about reality."

What books are great? I asked.

"Books that have been read ever since they were written down," he replied. "Those books are ascertainable." Independently compiled lists of such books will overlap by perhaps 85 per cent, he argued. Some books are great because they "present a view of life or reality stated in about the best possible way." Others are great because they "enliven the imagination about life and death, virtue and vice, war and peace."

Then again, others may be great yet wrong. For example? Marx. "I think his writings are great because he took certain streams that flow through modern philosophy and brought them together in such a way as to show: This is what they come to."

Other wrong-headed greats: Hegel and Kant. Likewise Nietzsche, who incidentally is not certified great by Mortimer Adler and Maynard Hutchins, editors of the Britannica Great Books collection. "A man deprived of reading Nietzsche in our times is a man who probably cannot understand the times," McArthur said. (Also studied at the college, yet not included in the Britannica set: Tocqueville, Henri Fabre, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, Cardinal Newman, and the papal encyclicals.)

Euclid is given a prominent place: His deductive reasoning seems to constitute a model for much that is taught at the college. A special niche of greatness is reserved for Aristotle: "You can begin to understand the world sanely and sensibly in every aspect of human thought by following Aristotle," McArthur said. "Charles Malik [a UN official from Lebanon] was here to give a graduation address and he said: 'Where there's Aristotle there's Western civilization.' " As for St. Thomas Aquinas himself, dare I say he's *summa*?

In several conversations with students, I was impressed by how much they had learned. I drove into Santa Paula one day with McArthur and a young man, just graduated, and he went over, as it were one last time (armoring himself?), St. Thomas's first proof of the existence of God. It was way over my head, having to do with inertia, motion, and rest.

One may feel uneasy with the idea that fundamental truths about existence can be deduced logically from certain starting points, or premises, using a method that is parallel to the demonstration of geometrical propositions. But then again, it's hard not to agree with McArthur that the conventional academic wisdom of our time, enthroning Skepticism and in fact mocking Truth, is highly destructive. Into the skeptical vacuum will rush (has rushed) all manner of oddities and intellectual creepy-crawlies, recalling Chesterton's point that he who ceases to believe in God will not so much believe in nothing as in anything.

Since we have the gift of intellect, presumably we can find the truth by using it. McArthur thinks we can, and no doubt the nation would be better off if a few more institutions of higher learning thought so too.

"The idea of liberal education as perfecting man's rationality, once the cornerstone of higher learning, has been all but lost in our time," says the "Blue Book," a statement of the college's founding philosophy. "The view that liberal education begins in wonder and aims at wisdom—that is, a knowledge of an order which human reason did not create but can discover and understand—has by and large been replaced by the notion that such an education aims at a kind of cultural enrichment . . ."

Not surprisingly, the college also believes that the acceptance of Catholic doctrine, far from inhibiting the life of the mind, will enhance it. Inquiry will flourish, just as the construction of a complex edifice may proceed only if based on secure foundations.

Richard Ferrier, a tutor at Thomas Aquinas who graduated from St. John's College, Annapolis, which also has a Great Books program, had this to say about the two schools: "At first I thought that because we have a more 'official' stance here, discussions would be less lively than at St. John's," he said. "On the contrary, the diffidence you feel with no official version [of the truth] makes you more cautious. We have to be more vigilant, at St. John's they have to be more heroic," he said by way of summary. "They lose heart."

DEFENDING CHRISTENDOM

A HANDFUL OF other small, orthodox Catholic colleges have been started up recently. One of the most successful is Christendom College, near Front Royal, Virginia.

Like Thomas Aquinas College, Christendom does not accept the view that orthodoxy is an impediment to a liberal education. Its new president, Damian Fedoryka, a Polish-born Catholic philosopher, is "drawing national attention now as a maverick advocate of closer Vatican control over traditional Catholic colleges and universities," according to the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.

When the Vatican, in 1985, released a "Proposed Scheme for a Pontifical Document on Catholic Universities," many of the nation's 235 Catholic post-secondary schools criticized the document on the grounds that it would interfere with "academic freedom." But Fedoryka defended it: "One misconception is that the [draft] is an external imposition of authority. What it really calls for is an internal commitment to the tenets of the Catholic faith."

As with Thomas Aquinas, many Christendom graduates find their way to Washington, D.C. Indeed, Christendom's political-science program has a "Practica" course including lectures and seminars at New Right leader Paul Weyrich's Free Congress Foundation, and a six-week summer internship in Washington. —TOM BETHELL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We have only a rough idea of what a new subscriber should look like . . .

. . . but you know exactly what they look like, don't you?

If you're enjoying this issue, surely you know others who would also enjoy it? For years, we've realized that our best *new* readers are people you know—friends, relatives (don't forget the students you care about!). And your recommendation is the best introduction we could hope for.

You would be doing us a great favor if you would use the card facing this page to urge somebody you know to subscribe now, during these historic days of the Second Reagan Era (when NR's unique coverage is at its *best*). Tell him (or her, of course) it's a bargain at the prices listed, and (you know) "act now," etc., etc. Or, if you prefer, use the card to send an introductory gift subscription to somebody now—NR makes a thoughtful (even flattering) gift, and your generous action could start a long-term relationship.

As soon as we receive the card, we'll start sending *National Review* without delay—we don't want anybody to miss a single issue at a time like this. So use it today, won't you? You'll be glad you did (and so will *we*). And many thanks for the help.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

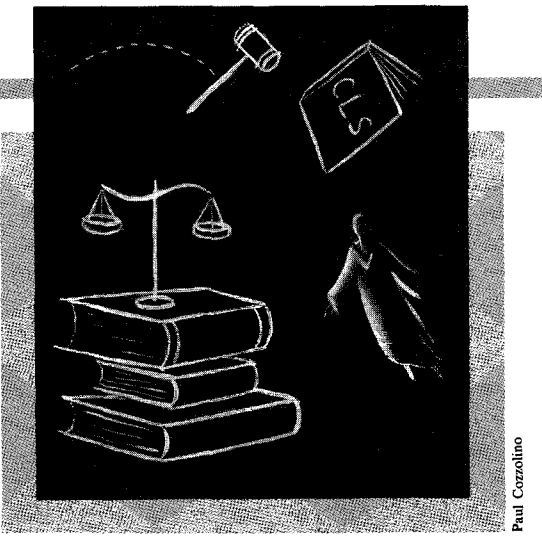
Indeed, what is most striking to the first-time visitor is not so much the ontological wrangling as the religious atmosphere that pervades the school. Go into the chapel on a weekday and you may see half the student body, or more than half, voluntarily and devoutly attending Mass, or saying the Rosary. Francis Milligan III, a recent graduate now at Loyola University medical school in Chicago, told me that although Thomas Aquinas had been intellectually stimulating, "I guess the piety is the biggest thing there." To conventional opinion, here is the greatest paradox of all: Expose some of America's brightest students to the best of Western thought (including powerful challenges to religion), do a better job at this than the most prestigious universities, and the result is not skepticism but devotion. One student made an unfashionable point that is little noted or heeded in the modern academic climate. "You trust your tutors," he said, "because you can see that they live good lives."

One day I asked the school chaplain, Monsignor John Gallagher, admittedly a biased observer, how he assessed the relative importance of the religious and the academic life in the school. Oh, he said, no comparison at all. He quoted St. Augustine: "*Verba docent, exemplum trahit.*"

Words teach, example draws. □

C H A R L E S B O R K

BATTLE FOR THE LAW SCHOOLS



Paul Cozzolino

ALTHOUGH THE catalogue said the course was Torts, the students noticed something odd. Two weeks had gone by and the instructor had yet to say one word about torts. Social justice, redistribution of wealth, gay rights—he had a lot to say about these. But nothing about torts. The professor was a follower of a trendy neo-Marxist school of legal scholarship that goes by the name of Critical Legal Studies, but which could better be described as "Abbie Hoffman Goes to Law School."

Most of the students, held in their seats by the power of the almighty GPA, sat meekly through the torrent of social-science drivel. At last, one student could stand it no longer. Destiny was at work; the time had come to take a stand against the leisure of the theory class. He stood up, raised his book over his head, and announced, "Professor, this book is called Torts. When does class begin?"

By this one act of intellectual defiance, this young man became a folk hero at UCLA. He is part of a growing group of law students fighting what they perceive as the radical drift of the nation's law schools.

The last few decades have been rough times for conservatives in the law schools. Oddly enough, the political success of the conservative movement in the real world has made the problem worse. As one Reagan appointee said before the ABA in 1982, "By my count, there were in recent years perhaps five interpretivists [i.e., legal scholars committed to the belief that the Constitution has a definite and ascertainable meaning] on the faculties of the best-known law schools. And now the President has put four of them on the Courts of Appeals. That is why faculty members who don't like much else about Reagan regard him as a great reformer of legal education."

Into the breach stepped a handful of conservative and libertarian law students with an idea for a revolution of their own. In 1982, they formed the Federalist Society, an organization founded on the principles "that the state exists to preserve freedom, that the separation of governmental powers is central to our Constitution, and that it is emphatically the province and duty of the judiciary to say what the law is, not what it should be."

Since then the Federalist Society has spread to 75 law schools. The national organization, directed by Eugene Mey-

Mr. Bork is a freelance writer and photographer. He wrote this article to make up for never having gone to law school.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

er, sponsors a national symposium every year and runs a speakers' bureau. The speakers' bureau brings the prominent legal scholars Reagan skimmed from the law schools back to campuses around the country. This year's symposium on the First Amendment, held in March at Stanford University, featured U.S. Circuit Court Judges Antonin Scalia, Robert Bork, Frank Easterbrook, and John Noonan. Local chapters sponsor speeches and debates and participate in regional symposia on legal issues.

The Federalists have also started up a lawyers' division for graduate members. The first chapter, in Washington, D.C., sponsors speakers' luncheons that draw up to 150 lawyers, judges, law clerks, and congressional staffers. New lawyers' chapters have been started in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Houston. In only four years, the Federalist Society has placed itself squarely in the mainstream of the legal community. A 1985 *Washington Post* article on the "conservative elite" identified the Federalist Society as perhaps the greatest outside influence on judicial appointments.

Mary McCafferty first heard of the Federalist Society when one of her law professors, Steven Conrad (a mainstream liberal), assigned a transcript of the Federalist Society's symposium on federalism to his American Legal History class at Indiana University. Miss McCafferty, impressed with what she read, now heads Indiana's chapter of the Federalist Society. She is currently organizing a regional Federalist symposium on Law and Philosophy, scheduled for September 13. Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist will be among the guests.

By providing a forum for such subversive, counter-revolutionary ideas as adhering to the Constitution as written, the Federalists may well have changed the intellectual momentum in America's law schools. Prior to the advent of the Federalist Society, Critical Legal Studies was the hottest item on the legal scene. As an intellectual movement, CLS represents the logical extension of the principles that had dominated legal scholarship for three decades. Liberal jurisprudence rejected the possibility of a "strict construction" of law, arguing that the meaning of the Constitution (for example) undergoes substantial evolution over time. Judges, in interpreting law, were supposed to reach down into what they understood to be the most "deeply rooted American traditions," while keeping a sharp eye on historical progress, in order to make their decisions.

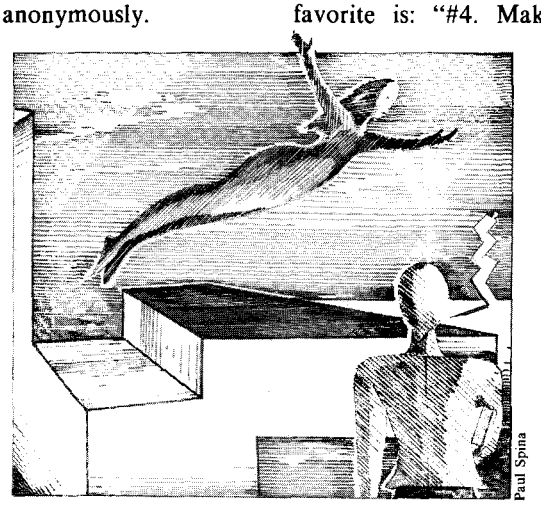
Critical Legal Studies pushed this liberal position to its radical conclusion. Orthodox liberal jurists struggled mightily to rationalize their decisions in constitutional terms, even if they could manage nothing more convincing than the claim that they were acting in accord with the Constitution's historical spirit. CLS partisans ripped away that thin veneer of constitutionalism. They believe that laws, like all texts, lack objective meaning; that legal interpretation, of necessity and in spite of the good faith of the

HARVARD'S PETTICOAT PATROL

THIS PAST SPRING, every student at the Harvard Law School was sent a five-page questionnaire from the Harvard Women's Law Association, asking about "any instances of sexism, racism, or other insensitivities (such as heterosexism, classism, and anti-Semitism)." The requested information could be offered anonymously.

To help out its informants, the questionnaire offered six examples of professorial sexism. I quote the last three in their entirety.

> #4. Making insensitive comments about subjects.
>
> #5. Not covering subjects important to women with care. (An example of "care" is pointing out deficiencies in the casebook or discussing the historical context of biased cases.)
>
> #6. Failing to rebuke or correct students when they make insensitive remarks.



Analogous examples were offered for professorial racism.

The professor must not dissent from feminist orthodoxy; otherwise he risks making "insensitive comments" about "subjects." When reviewing an old case that arrived at a result objectionable to modern feminists, the professor must point out how ignorant people were back then; otherwise he has failed to discuss "the historical context of biased cases." And whenever a student dissents from feminist orthodoxy, the professor must tell him to cut it out; otherwise he is not "correcting" students when they make "insensitive remarks."

The questionnaire also invited denunciations of student sexism, and gave examples of what that might be. My favorite is: "#4. Making unwarranted assumptions about individuals because of their gender (e.g., assuming that women are homemakers or do not make much money.)" There's the authentic voice of yuppie-liberalism—sexism is doubting a woman's net worth!

The Left has been shrieking lately about Accuracy in Academia, a conservative group that monitors the political content of college courses. No question, AIA is objectionable, but because it does precisely what Harvard feminists are doing. Both rely on anonymous denunciation. Both turn disagreement into objective error: Leftist politics becomes inaccuracy, nonfeminism becomes sexism.

The difference is that AIA has no real leverage—in fact, an attack by AIA allows a university to strike a noble pose on behalf of academic freedom. But let the attack come from a women's group, or a minority group, or a gay group, and watch the university scurry for cover.

—DAVID FRUM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

jurist, is merely the selection among political preferences. Indeed, as a movement, CLSers had a lot going for them. They were radical, they were hip, they were revolutionary—law professors who openly rejected the rule of law.

An exaggeration? Consider an article published in *Guild Notes* (Sept.-Oct. 1982). The author offers the following suggestions for reforming the legal profession: Lawyers should be assigned to big law firms at random; legal services should be free and of equal quality for everyone; law students and teachers should be selected by lottery; there should be a guaranteed job for all who pass the bar exam; there should be equal pay for everyone from professors to janitors.

The author of this article, Duncan Kennedy, Mr. CLS himself, is no fringe figure. He is a professor at Harvard Law School, the hotbed of CLS fervor. He urges students to disrupt classrooms in order to resist intellectual indoctrination: "Law schools try to persuade students that the legal rules in force are neutral, fair, and efficient (with a few minor exceptions and anomalies), and this amounts to teaching them that the capitalist system is neutral, fair, and efficient."

But despite its flashy appeal, CLS is the kind of intellectual movement that could prosper only in a vacuum. That no legal text has a definitive meaning is so useless an idea for settling legal disputes that it could not possibly gain significant power in a competitive intellectual environment. Sooner or later, someone was bound to shout out, "The Emperor has no clothes!" In law schools today, that person, likely as not, is a Federalist.

Indeed, CLS faculty have inadvertently won many converts to conservative jurisprudence and the Federalist Society. When Paul Capuccio came to study at Harvard Law School, he considered himself something of a liberal. Then he ran into the CLS crowd. "I can't emphasize enough how left-wing Harvard is," says Capuccio. "You are branded a fascist for talking about the Framers' intent."

Although a registered Democrat, Capuccio joined the Federalist Society, he says, because he got fed up with how one-sided the law school had become; the speeches, debates, and symposia of the Federalist Society offered a more sophisticated intellectual environment. "I definitely got pushed to the right after three years at Harvard Law," says Capuccio. "And I ran into a number of people who seemed to leave Harvard a good deal more conservative than when they came in. The shoddy, unsophisticated, Trotskyite CLS fanatics are going to be Harvard's downfall."

The Federalists are fully aware that their main job in the universities is to foster a free market in ideas. To that end, the Society took on the CLS movement directly in May 1985 in a panel discussion at the New York Harvard Club, pitting leaders of that movement against conservatives and Federalist Society sympathizers such as Harvard's Professor Paul Bator. The Federalists invited several hundred Harvard alums to the discussion. There they heard Bator denounce CLS for denying that "the enterprise we call law has any independent power or integrity at all." A good many of the shocked alumni subsequently let the Harvard Law administration have the benefit of their views.

Constitutional theory may seem an esoteric field. In actuality, the ideological battle now being waged in America's law schools ought to be considered conservatism's front line. Liberalism's disregard for the constitutional structure, its disdain for federalism, its scorn of strict interpretation, its casual erosion of the separation of powers all tend to the destruction of the Founders' vision of a strictly limited government and thereby clear the way for the imposition of utopian fantasies and elitist social revolution.

David MacIntosh, one of the founders of the Federalist Society and currently special assistant to Attorney General Edwin Meese, argues that it is the intellectual vitality of the Society that accounts for its phenomenal growth: "At many law schools, the Federalist Society is the only organization—left or right—presenting debates on current legal issues."

MacIntosh is vividly aware of what is at stake: "In the next five years we will see students who were active in the Federalist Society begin to join law-school faculties. The crucial war of ideas will be fought in the law schools over the next ten to 15 years." □

DAVID SHIFFLETT

SOUTHERN COMFORT

I REMEMBER GOING to Vassar one weekend. It was my second trip to a Northern school, the first being a dismaying trip to Wellesley, where my girlfriend had taken to reading Sylvia Plath and had a bad case of the mopes. At Vassar, things were a little peppier, but good old-fashioned fun was still hard to come by.

This happened one night: Having worked up a few lines, I turned to an attractive co-ed only to find her inserting her tongue into another co-ed's ear. Eyes lit up on the receiving end, while the aggressor purred like a bitch alligator. Lord a'mercy, I wasn't in Virginia any more.

Both of these girls, it turns out, were campus figures. A while after I returned home, I came across a story about one of them in *Newsweek* in which she discussed this phenomenon. Luckily, she had made the great switch to men's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ears, which was good news. But one thing struck me at the time: If she had gone to Ole Miss, she'd have held her tongue—at least in public.

People gotta do what they gotta do, of course, but here at the start of the school year, the differences between Southern and Northern schools agitate the mind. In a few short weeks, scores of thousands of impressionable 18-year-olds will have the scales ripped from their eyes, the necessary first step to the installation of blinders. Sadly, many of our brightest students will be re-outfitted at places having more in common with Vassar than with LSU.

That raises a question for conservatives, especially those who get their information from *NR* and thus have difficulty believing in the existence of schools outside the Ivy League: Which place would be best for my children? North, East, South, West—all have schools, some good, some bad. But the thoughtful right-winger, having looked in each direction, sends his child toward Birmingham. That's where things are closer to the way they should be.

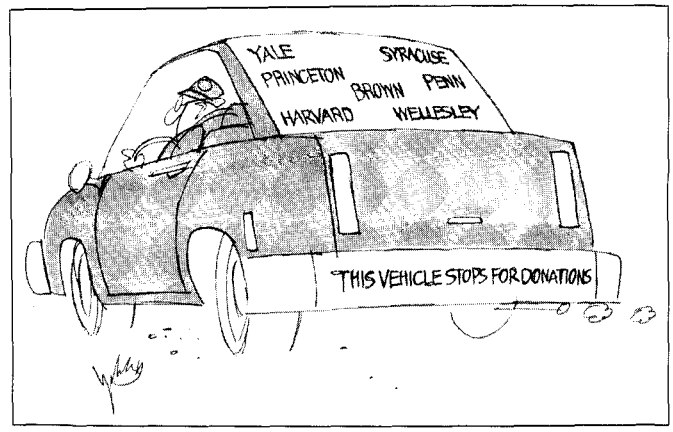
Sending the offspring South for schooling isn't easy for some parents. How will Junior react in such surroundings? they wonder. Disinformation specialists from the North are quick to whisper about horrible and unavoidable transformations: proper Yankeespeak giving way to slackjaw English, curled lips and other refined mannerisms being replaced by endless chigger-scratch, and the hope for a suitable match dashed as Junior disappears into the French quarter with a long-legged octoroon. All of these are possibilities, of course. No place is perfect. But the South is more perfect than elsewhere.

Maybe Southern schools should hire some whisperers and send them up North to ask questions like: How many shanties have you seen at Southern schools? Very few. There was one at Johns Hopkins in Maryland (sort of a Southern state) but it got firebombed—while occupied.

That isn't to say there's anything wrong with protesting apartheid. Southerners, more than most people, know the price you pay for treating creatures made in God's image like animals. Poke one in the ribs and ask him about South Africa, and he's likely to say, "You reap what you sow." But most likely, the Southern student doesn't see South Africa as a threat to his country the way the Soviet Union is. Shanty-bashers are just trying to do a little prioritizing, as the bureaucrats say.

The whisperers would also point out that Southern students' more balanced sense of life prevents them from carrying on like the kids at Brown University, where student leaders wanted to stockpile cyanide pills for use in the event of nuclear war. Southern students are different. They aren't about to participate in a mass suicide should the SS-18s fly. Instead, they'd see if the feds were lying when they said an old door covered with a foot or so of dirt makes a dandy bomb shelter. If they were, the victim would go down cussing Washington and the Soviets, but certainly not life itself, a distinction that betrays an admirable subtlety of mind. It sure beats reading a passage from *The Bell Jar* and then putting your head in an oven.

All this is anecdotal evidence, of course. But things that count to conservatives—loyalty, respect for tradition and



human life, and an overall celebratory attitude toward the Creation—are found in greater abundance in the South. And because college is where the young are schooled in the intellectual dressage they will obey for years afterward, the conservative must ask himself: What kind of person do I want shoeing my foal?

Aha! scoffers will say, there is no way a Southern school can guarantee your child will be taught by conservative professors. This is true. Professors, like migrant farm workers and locusts, go where the crops are; there are plenty of left-wingers picking greenbacks in the South. But Southern society places a check on the excesses of liberalism. Professors are constantly reminded (by the gun racks in the pickups and letters to the editor) that the dominant culture doesn't go for accommodation with the Soviets, buggery in the boys' room, or any other of liberalism's proclivities. This is not to say that these things don't go on in the South, but they have no support in the society at large. Imagine, for example, a giant gay-pride march in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, home of the Crimson Tide. Or a giant nuclear-freeze rally anywhere near Mississippi State.

Even the weather in the South encourages conservatism. Compare two cities of academe: Boston, around which top-notch Northern schools are dense-packed, and Charlotte, North Carolina, home of Queens, a thriving branch of the University of North Carolina, and several barbers' colleges. Boston has an average yearly temperature of 51.5 degrees and 127 days of precipitation a year, which sounds about right for raising mushrooms and malcontents. Charlotte has an average temperature of sixty degrees and precipitation 111 days of the year, allowing more time for the secular contemplations of the bobber and the stock car, and theological musings upon the advent of the Second Eden.

Or maybe the explanation of the South's conservative nature is found in a poll published in the Autumn 1974 edition of *Listening*, a journal of religion and culture. According to this study (the most recent of its kind I know of), Southerners who were absolutely certain Satan existed numbered 72 per cent, up from 53 per cent nine years earlier. A scant 29 per cent of Northerners believed in Satan, down from 33 per cent in 1964. Now which group do you think is most likely to align itself with Sister Boom Boom?

Believing in Satan, Southerners also believe in God, and are thus less likely to try their hand at playing Him. Nearly as important, they feel more than the Almighty looking over their shoulder. They also feel the ghosts of genera-

(Continues on page 61)

Mr. Shifflett, an editorial writer for the Washington Times *and a graduate of Hampden-Sydney College, spent his formative years in and around the Great Dismal Swamp.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIRST SIGHTINGS

FOR MANY YEARS the incomparable Russell Kirk wrote a regular column in NATIONAL REVIEW entitled "From the Academy." *NR* indeed began, in its original inspiration, in the academy. *God and Man at Yale* appeared in 1951, launching a combat of ideas and world views.

Russell Kirk's column dealt with many things, but its principal focus was the decline of genuine learning and genuine scholarship. The problem of the academy today remains the same, but it is also different and much darker. Hence this rebirth of an *NR* column about the American academy.

Much darker? I am a professor of English at Dartmouth, a high-prestige academic institution. I will have the rhetorical problem of achieving what the Renaissance love poets called *mesure*, moderation. I will report the facts and let them speak for themselves. But let me say this. The American academy has become a totalitarian institution.

Now, most professors, at most universities, are thorough professionals. They are devoting their lives to microbiology or Shakespeare, and they are striving to achieve an approximation of the truth. A student at Harvard or Michigan, picking his way, can gain an excellent and civilizing education.

But—and here is a very large but, and the reason for this column—the message being delivered by such great institutions, as institutions, is very different from the independence of mind to be encountered in their best classrooms. Thus seventy college presidents issue a statement opposing aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. Forty law-school deans come out against Daniel Manion as an Appeals Court judge. Hundreds of physicists sign on against SDI. Not a single college president says that we ought to *increase* investment in South Africa.

In later columns I will tell you why this leftward undertow prevails, but let me start with two examples of what happens to you when, young, naïve, and full of eagerness, you enter one of these academic institutions.

The first involves a Yale sophomore named Wayne Dick, who objected to Yale's "Gay/Lesbian Awareness Days" [see also "A Tyranny of Pity," p. 28]. Dick put up some posters, which were very funny. His fictitious parody of perversion announced, for example, "PAN: The Goat, the God, the Lover—a lecture by Professor Baaswell."

Wayne Dick was attacking the homosexual liberal icon. He was attacking victimology, which has replaced Yale's Presbyterianism. And he had his head handed to him by Yale. He was sentenced to two years' probation for a "serious offense"—indulging in non-"worthwhile" speech.

Now, this sentence flatly contradicted the norms of free expression enunciated a decade ago by the university's Woodward Commission: "If expression may be prevented, censored, or punished, because of its content or because of the motives attributed to those who promote it, then it is no longer free." Yale is legally bound by its own printed regulations. The courts have held that a university is as much bound by the rules as its students are, and Yale is in flagrant, totalitarian violation of contract.

MEANWHILE, an amazing situation has sprung up at Dartmouth. A student arranged for Robert Ballard, who had discovered the location of the wrecked *Titanic* and organized the expedition to photograph it, to appear and show slides of the *Titanic* at Dartmouth. The student who was Ballard's contact is the business manager of the *Dartmouth Review*.

The totalitarians went into action. Ballard was refused a hall to speak in. The students got one for him, by having the talk co-sponsored by the college's Policy Studies program. The chairman of Policy Studies got phone calls from two deans telling him not to sponsor the talk because the thing was connected with the *Dartmouth Review*. The Policy Studies professor who was sponsoring the talk received five death-threat phone calls. He thinks the callers were students.

The professor phoned the president of the college about the threats, and was told that he was on his own. If the professor had been a black, a homosexual, or a leftist, no doubt the state police would have been mobilized. He moved his children out of town and requested protection from the campus police. He wrote as follows to the campus newspaper:

> I feel compelled to note that my decision to co-sponsor a public speech with the *Dartmouth Review* has caused me certain difficulties. My life has been threatened. My family has left Hanover. This is a violation of my rights to free speech under the First Amendment and my civil rights under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Mr. Ballard's talk about the *Titanic* was a huge success, packing a hall that holds three hundred. The two deans who had tried to kill the talk showed up and appeared to enjoy it. Shortly thereafter the professor went to dinner with the conservative students who had invited Ballard. This must have been observed by the academic thought police, because the professor was given to understand that his academic career would be in jeopardy if he continued to associate with such students. The students have this from him in writing. He is afraid to speak to them on the street.

Things may be even worse elsewhere. Former Sixties radicals are calling the shots. Weak administrators are afraid to say no to noisy leftists. George Orwell, call your office. The animals are running the farm again. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POLISH TRAGEDY, RUSSIAN JOKE

Arnold Beichman

The Liberation of One, by Romuald Spasowki (Harcourt Brace, 687 pp., $24.95)

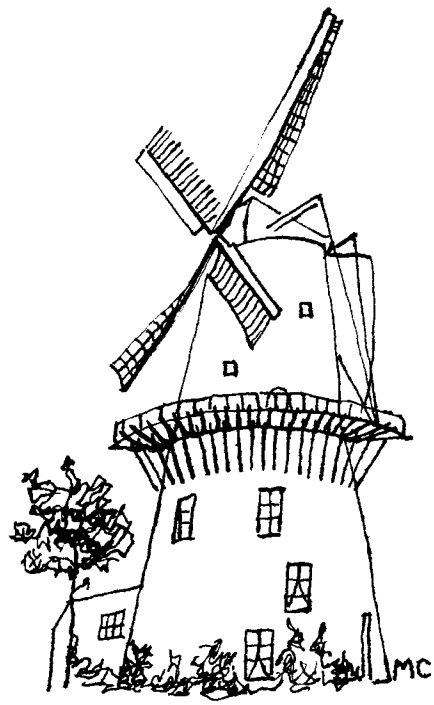
IN 1772, Catherine the Great signed a secret agreement with Prussia and Austria to partition Poland "in order to re-establish order inside this country and to give it a political existence more in conformity with the interests of its neighbors." Those preambular words of the treaty signed in St. Petersburg more than two centuries ago have the ring of modernity about them, except that now the code word would be "socialism."

During the first partition, France and England stood by, ignoring the destruction of Poland. Catherine's "fellow-travelers"—the *philosophes* Helvétius, Diderot, d'Alembert, and Voltaire—cheered her actions. In fact, Voltaire, yes, the great Voltaire, wrote Catherine in praise of the 1772 partition that "I am not a murderer, but I think I could become one to serve you." Somehow Russia, whether Czarist or Soviet, brings out the worst in otherwise respectable Western intellectuals. No other imperialist dictatorship has ever received such fulsome praise from them. And now we have the story of an "independent" Poland, once more the victim of an imperial Russia, but this time a Russia far cleverer than in its pre-Bolshevik days.

It started at Yalta, when all boundary questions were settled by a triumphant, esurient Stalin. After Stalin's death in 1953, his successors, by manifesting a will to use military power if necessary, and then, later, by exploiting a détente that never was, managed to take the U.S. and the Western European democracies for the ominous ride to the Finland Station at Helsinki. There, the West legitimized once and forever Stalin's Pax Sovietica. In return, the West received the USSR's usual broken promises. As Romuald Spasowski writes: "Détente, I was learning, was to be binding only on the West."

What this tragedy meant to Poland is the appalling story told as a confessional autobiography by Spasowski, aged 66, a Communist diplomat for almost all his adult life; it took him forty years before he finally decided to defect on December 19, 1981, six days after martial law was declared in Poland. It is an appalling story on two counts.

First, how could an obviously intelligent man, not a thug and a time-server like so many Polish Communists, have waited so long to come to his decision, while his devoted and devoutly religious wife, with none of the political sophistication of her husband, knew from the beginning that a free and democratic Poland was impossible with the Red Army on Poland's borders? Why did Mrs. Spasowski know the truth, which her husband would not accept? Because of his pre-war Communist father, who later committed suicide over Soviet treatment of Poland? Intellectual arrogance? Atheism? (In the spring of 1985, Spasowski was received into the Catholic Church.) Was he following the imperatives summed up by Bertolt Brecht, who in *The Measures Taken* declaimed: "Sink into the mud, embrace the butcher, but change the world, it needs it"?



Second, Spasowski paints in the most telling detail what it means when a country becomes a Soviet colony and what it means when a non-Russian comes under Soviet rule. He takes us behind the façade. That alone makes his autobiography an important historical document. As far as Poland's Communist Party leaders were concerned, the USSR "treated them the way it treats all Poles—as potential enemies." Examples abound:

—When Spasowski, as Poland's ambassador to Washington in 1955, negotiated a successful lend-lease debt agreement with the United States, the Soviet ambassador in Washington was

Arnold Beichman is a Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution.

R. Cort Kirkwood, a former student of Ladislav Bittman's, is a freelance writer based in Washington, D.C.

Wayne Lutton, a refugee from the Baltimore-Washington corridor, now lives at the foot of Pikes Peak, in Manitou Springs, Colorado, where he is on the faculty of The Summit.

Jeffrey Meyers is the author of Fiction and the Colonial Experience *and* Hemingway: A Biography.

David Rooney teaches at Hofstra University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sharply critical of Spasowski for not having informed him of the negotiations. Spasowski replied he had acted on instructions from Warsaw. "Warsaw, Warsaw," the Soviet ambassador expostulated. "But *we* didn't know about it. That's simply not allowed."

—Poland became a useful Soviet diplomatic tool because "we were the largest, most prestigious, of the satellites." The Cominform took shape in Poland in 1947; the World Peace Movement was begun in Wroclaw in 1948; the Warsaw Pact was created in Poland's capital in 1955.

—The meaning of Poland's trade with the Soviet Union—"to understand the accounting alone was a challenge," he writes—was best summed up in a Polish saying, "The Russians get our coal and in exchange we give them our sugar."

—On a visit to Warsaw in 1980, Spasowski saw stores with empty shelves, endless lines for meat. He asked where were the enormous grain imports, the huge sums of money loaned Poland by the West? He was told they had all quietly vanished east. In Lublin, striking workers broke open freight cars headed for the USSR and found thousands of cans marked "paint." They opened the paint cans; inside they found Polish hams.

—The Helsinki Final Act was published in Poland as an edition of a mere five hundred copies with the title, *The Great Charter of Peace.* When Spasowski sought a copy, it took several weeks before one could be located. He then discovered that the edition was kept in a file marked SECRET. No copies were to be found in bookstores. Why? "Our comrades in Moscow," a Polish Party official told him, "sent the orders [to restrict distribution] directly to our Central Committee."

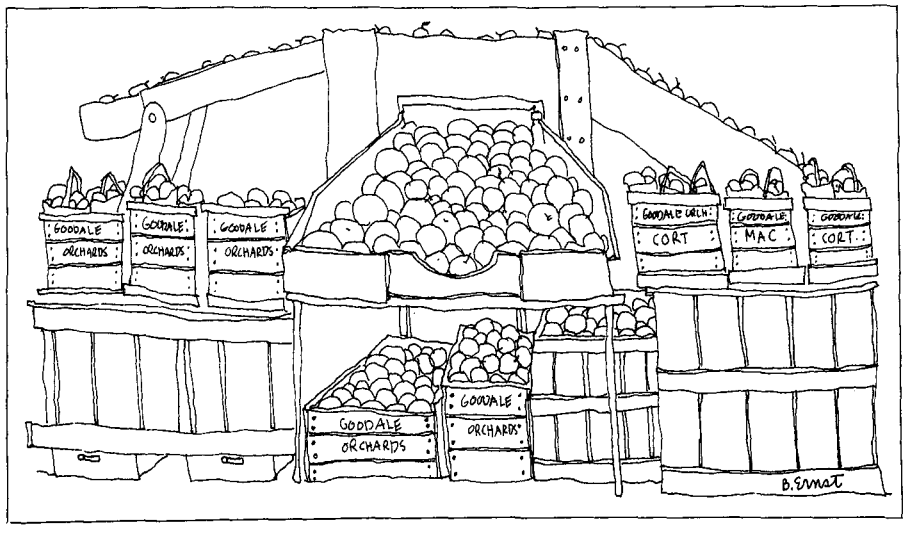
—In mid September 1974, there was a wave of arson in Warsaw. One night the city's central department store was razed. Other big fires destroyed the Rosa Luxemburg factory and a new steel bridge over the Vistula. Investigation showed that napalm and phosphorus had been used to melt the steel. There were seven mysterious fires in all. Everyone knew it was the Kremlin showing displeasure with the Poles' occasional refusal to grant the USSR everything its proconsuls had demanded.

Spasowski writes that a war between a nation of nearly forty million people and "a handful of reprobate Communists whose power is based solely in the police" would, in normal circumstances, be won by the people hands down. But with Moscow behind the Polish Communists, little can be done. The country is now a fascist state as well as a Soviet colony. The war in Poland, he says, "has no equal in history."

"An entire nation is held hostage," Spasowski writes, "and life in Europe goes on as if nothing had happened. Poles are alone." And life goes on, Spasowski is too polite to suggest, in the White House, in Congress, and in the big lending banks that finance Jaruzelski's dictatorship.

What message does he have for those still free of Communist imperialist domination? Spasowski writes: "Soviet tyranny is long-lived and thriving, not because it is strong, but because the free world has no solidarity of its own to combat it."

It is sad to contemplate that with the departure of President Reagan on January 20, 1989, there will be even less solidarity in the free world to combat the organized thuggery that is called Communism. □



DISINFORMATION, PLEASE

R. Cort Kirkwood

The KGB and Soviet Disinformation: An Insider's View, by Ladislav Bittman (Pergamon-Brassey, 227 pp., $16.95)

"WHEN THE SKY grew lighter, I stopped the car at a small rest stop, opened the door, and left the car. I stepped to the front of the car and tore off the CD sign giving me diplomatic immunity. I no longer needed it. I had crossed my Rubicon . . ."

Thus ended Ladislav Bittman's service to Communism, as told in *The Deception Game*, an autobiographical account of life as a disinformant, propagandist, and Czech secret agent that appeared 14 years ago. Since then, in between the university classes he teaches on the subject, Bittman has been gathering information about Soviet active measures for his second book, *The KGB and Soviet Disinformation: An Insider's View*. Bittman tells about the rumors, lies, and terrorism that are all part of the KGB's ongoing campaign to demoralize and subdue the West without war.

Bittman, a former major in Czech intelligence and deputy commander of Department D, the department of disinformation, was a top intelligence operative from 1954 to 1968. In *The KGB and Soviet Disinformation*, he writes instructively about active measures—*aktivnyya meropriyatiya*—"clandestine operations designed to extend Soviet influence and power around the world." Disinformation games have been a key active measure of the KGB since its inception.

Bittman describes, with diagrams, various versions of the disinformational "game plan, . . . in which the participants play one of three roles: operator, adversary, or unwitting agent." The adversary is usually a Western nation, often the United States; the unwitting agent, a Third World nation or an individual fellow-traveler; and the opera-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM NOTES

☐ More September Titles: *The Great Chinese Revolution: From 1800 to the Present* (Bessie/Harper & Row, $20.95), by John King Fairbank, is a study of China, pre- and post-revolutionary, arguing characteristically that Marxism strikes so deep into Chinese tradition that Western influence is peripheral by comparison.

In *The High-Flex Society: Shaping America's Economic Future* (Knopf, $18.95), Pat Choate and J. K. Linger, both analysts for the TRW Corporation, argue that international trends, as well as domestic ones, are threatening America's position as a world leader. In the latter category, the authors are particularly keen to point to the federal deficit, insufficient investment in education and research, and the trade imbalance.

Confessions of a Parish Priest (Simon & Schuster, $18.95), by Andrew M. Greeley, is the autobiography of a Father who spends the better part of his time writing cheap novels and who believes that "The Church is hung up on morality and authority." . . . In *It Seems like Only Yesterday: Memoirs of Writing, Presidential Politics, and the Diplomatic Life* (Morrow, $19.95), John Bartlow Martin describes his career, starting as a writer of "fact stories" for *Official Detective* and proceeding to his work as a top magazine writer on matters of crime and social issues; thence to speechwriter for Adlai Stevenson and John and Robert Kennedy, becoming U.S. Ambassador to the Dominican Republic in 1962.

The Other Nile (Viking, $18.95), by Charlie Pye-Smith, illustrated by Eric Parry, is an interesting account of a not-so-pleasant trip up the Nile in 1984 by a man who prefers living with "Egyptian bedbugs rather than American piped music."

☐ Coming in October: *The Making of a Journalist* (Kentucky, $22), by William S. White, is the story of a Texas cub reporter who went on to cover World War II in Europe for the Associated Press, returned to the U.S. and went to work for the *New York Times*, and eventually acquired a syndicated column. According to White, the biggest change to have occurred in the business during his life is the evolution of the newspaper from "bearer of the Message" to "confider of Meaning." —CW

tor, the KGB or some other Eastern-bloc intelligence service.

Bittman gradually makes clear that disinformation is a "game" only in the same sense that "war games" are: It is a highly specialized field of study requiring the "operator" to understand the politics, history, psychology, foreign relations, culture, and weaknesses of both the "unwitting agent" and the "adversary." Additionally, Soviet active measures are part of a long-term strategy. "Moscow's disinformation specialists know that a single covert action . . . cannot tip the balance of power between the Western Alliance and the Communist bloc. But they believe that mass production of active measures will have a significant cumulative effect over a period of decades."

Bittman confirms two beliefs long held by knowledgeable critics of the media: a) Soviet disinformation is successful; and b) it is successful in large part because journalists think they are too sophisticated to be duped by Soviet agents.

Take, for example, the infamous "Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America," eagerly circulated by the far-left Pacific News Service and picked up first by an obscure British newsletter and, a few days later, by the *Boston Globe* and the *New York Times*. The paper, which urged an end to U.S. support for the Salvadoran government and a "nonmilitary, negotiated solution" in Central America, was supposedly written by "dissenting State Department officials." In fact, says Bittman, it was an "obvious forgery." Nevertheless, Stephen Kinzer, a leftish reporter then with the *Boston Globe*, wrote a front-page story on November 28, 1980, about its conclusions, attributing them to a " 'group of disgruntled diplomats and intelligence experts.' "

On December 1, 1980, Bittman reports, "columnist Anthony Lewis gave it national publicity [in the *New York Times*] without verifying its authenticity." The *Times* learned the document was a forgery two months later, but only after Flora Lewis, another *Times* columnist, also wrote an article based on it.

Another instance: A March 20, 1975, article in the *New York Times*, coauthored by a "foreign-affairs consultant and writer on European-American relations," was in fact written by a highly paid, decorated East German spy.

So much for the "unwitting agents." When it comes to the "adversaries," the KGB will conduct active measures against anyone or anything—even supposedly friendly Soviet-bloc countries. Targets have included Henry Kissinger, pegged at home as a KGB agent and abroad as the principal behind a "treacherous, selfish American foreign policy"; Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, condemned in his wife's KGB-inspired autobiography; and even Czechoslovakia, during the short-lived Prague Spring of 1968.

By then, Bittman had tired of playing the deception game. He had been deceiving himself all along. In the morning hours of August 21, 1968, after the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia and crushed the counter-revolutionaries, Bittman left his intelligence post in Vienna. Two months later he landed in the U.S. and began his new career as a writer and university professor, spreading information instead of disinformation.

Today, Ladislav Bittman still looks like the archetypal KGB agent—bald pate, mustache and goatee, stocky physique. Looks notwithstanding, his riveting tales about "dirty tricks" against his adopted home have a sincere, near repentant quality, and offer aspiring journalists an important lesson in humility: Even they aren't immune from disinformants as skillful as Ladislav Bittman. ☐

SCANDAL IN YELLOWSTONE

Wayne Lutton

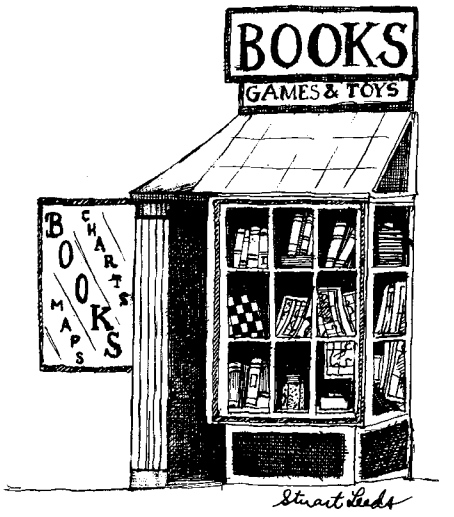
Playing God in Yellowstone: The Destruction of America's First National Park, by Alston Chase (Atlantic Monthly, 446 pp., $24.95)

Exposés of government mismanagement and corruption have been rolling off the presses at an almost exponential rate in recent years. We have now come to expect some agencies to work tirelessly against the American people's best interests, and we are caught by surprise when they occasionally make a mistake in our favor. But with park rangers outfitted in Rough Rider uniforms, the National Park Service is one federal bureau that most of us would tend not to be suspicious of.

The crown jewel of our national-park system is Yellowstone. Founded in 1872, during the Presidency of U. S. Grant, it is larger than the states of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rhode Island and Delaware combined. By law the Park Service is responsible for preserving Yellowstone and the other parks under its jurisdiction "unimpaired for future generations." Alston Chase, in his new and highly disturbing book, *Playing God in Yellowstone*, makes a compelling case for the charge that federal mismanagement —following a half-baked policy of letting nature take its course—is actually destroying Yellowstone. "The park's reputation as a great game sanctuary is perhaps the best-sustained myth in American conservation history," writes Chase, "and the story of its decline perhaps one of the government's best-kept secrets."



Chase, a graduate of Harvard and Oxford, has lectured on the philosophy of science and has long been concerned with Yellowstone. He has uncovered a scandal of breathtaking proportions, dating back to the time when the Park Service took over control of the park from the U.S. Cavalry. Basing park-management policies less on scientific than on political considerations, the Park Service, far from preserving our natural heritage, has actually brought about the extinction of one major species (the Rocky Mountain grey wolf); the elimination from Yellowstone of the white-tailed deer, bobcat, wolverine, cougar, lynx, mountain lion, marten, and fisher; the destruction of the range; and the serious decline of the grizzly bear, black bear, bighorn sheep, mule deer, and beaver. Chase musters an impressive array of evidence to support his contention that

> Over the last seventy years nearly every conceivable mistake that could be made in wildlife management has been made by the Park Service in Yellowstone. Not a year has gone by since it assumed responsibility there when the National Park Service did not kill an animal in the name of an environmental ideal. Today, its management policies threaten the very capacity of the park to sustain life.

The basic problem stems from a decision made by the Park Service years ago to eliminate predatory animals from Yellowstone, while publicly denying that it was pursuing such a policy. Chief among the consequences is that the elk and bison herds have exploded. Overgrazing by these specially protected animals has brought about a calamitous decline in the food available to other animals, as well as contributing to soil erosion and the decline of various plants. It remains a mystery why the Park Service granted most-favored-animal status to the elk, which apparently is not even native to Yellowstone.

Regrettably, conditions at Yellowstone did not improve after Reaganite conservative James Watt became Interior Secretary. The basic management policies instituted by previous Administrations continued. What is more, soon after he took office, Watt approved the construction at Yellowstone of the Grant Village project, earlier rejected by the Carter Administration as a wasteful and improper use of taxpayers' money. The project not only destroyed a prime grizzly habitat, but put the Park Service in the hotel business, in direct competition with private operators in the area.

Your reviewer recently spoke with an avid reader of *NR* who, coincidentally, spent the past summer working as a conservationist at Yellowstone. After he informed me that he and his colleagues were all familiar with Chase's book, I asked him for his opinion of it. His reply: "Sad to say, but Chase is essentially correct. . . . It's just a matter of time before the bears are all gone."

Playing God in Yellowstone will make most readers very angry indeed. Victories for just causes have been few and far between in recent years. While we are busy promoting the SDI, trying to save the IRA, and working to derail the government's scheme to allow the Red Army to eat Wheaties at U.S. taxpayers' expense, let's also give a hand to the grizzly, bighorn, and beaver, now being gulaged by the Park Service apparatchiks. Spurred on by Chase's book, maybe we can help win one for the animals. □

THE
CONSERVATIVE ACTION
FOUNDATION

...IS YOUR COMPLETE, FREE SOURCE FOR ALL YOUR ACTIVIST NEEDS!

Our staff of experienced, highly-trained conservative activists are standing by to help you promote the ideals championed by our Founding Fathers... in your community and on your campus.

CAF'S GRAPHICS EXPERT designs new posters and brochures every month, and is always available to help you design promotional materials to suit each individual project.

CAF'S MEDIA CONSULTANT is on call to advise you on how to generate maximum coverage for your activities, and to help you handle crises as they arise.

CAF'S POLICY ANALYST is available to give your facts and arguments on the spot when you need documentation for your case, or an articulate rebuttal to an opponent's argument.

YOUR PROJECT'S SUCCESS IS JUST A PHONE CALL AWAY!

Call NOW for immediate, FREE assistance:
1-800-423-7976
OR
1-202-547-0200
OR write to the address below:
Projects Director, CAF
1326 G Street, SE Washington, D.C. 20003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PROGRESSIVELY BORING

Joseph Sobran

Shepherds Speak, edited by Dennis M. Corrado and James F. Hinchey (Crossroad, 225 pp., $12.95, paper)

THE SUBTITLE: *American Bishops Confront the Social and Moral Issues That Challenge Christians Today.* Suspicious? Well, here are some of the bishops who, as the editors put it, "speak out" in this volume: James W. Malone, John R. Roach, Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, Roger M. Mahony, Rembert G. Weakland, Thomas J. Gumbleton.

And here are some of the topics: "The Church as a Community of Conscience." "Theological Diversity and Dissent within the Church." "Getting Our House in Order: Economic Justice within the Church." "The National Conference of Bishops: A New Vision of Leadership and Authority." "Institutionalized Racism." "Capital Punishment and the Sacredness of Life." "Poverty in America: The Social Sin of Our Time." "Woman as Person in the Church and Society." "The Continuing Arms Race: Waging War against the Third World." "Apartheid: Nightmare for South Africa—Challenge to the United States." "The Bishops' Peace Pastoral."

Yep, it's just what it sounds like: essays in bland liberalism. Concentrated *ennui*, full of buzz words like "systemic" and "impacting."

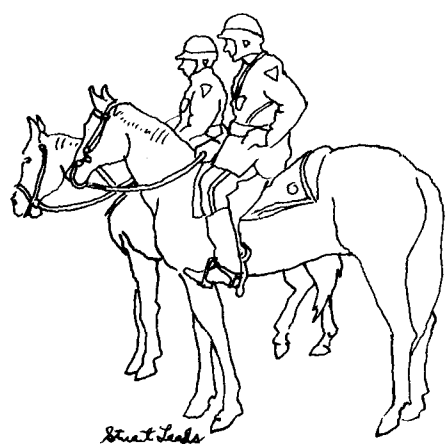
But *why* is it so boring? The question loomed larger as I read this shortish volume, my will locked in fierce struggle with my eyelids. And I think I found the answer.

The bishops herein are trying to avoid offending two orthodoxies at once: Catholic and "progressive." None of the essays is addressed to abortion; only a couple mention it even glancingly. None tackles contraception, pornography, or any other facet of the sexual revolution and its social consequences; none connects that upheaval in morals with the social problems. You might get the impression from *Shepherds Speak* that poverty had no relation to illegitimacy or divorce.

The total impression the book leaves is one of thorough evasiveness. These bishops want to reconcile Catholicism and liberalism without facing the points of conflict, or even admitting that such points exist. A Catholic needn't be conservative in the "right-wing" sense. In fact there are difficulties in being both. A book that dodged them would be uninteresting. This book dodges all the tensions that naturally occur to any reader sophisticated enough to know that Catholicism is traditionally a "reactionary" religion. It can't be quite *that* easy to be a "progressive" Catholic, can it?

The problem is clearest when the essays turn to foreign policy. Not one of the essays is concerned with—or even mentions—the horrors of Communism, including the persecution of Christians. Bishop John J. Fitzpatrick of Brownsville writes about "Sanctuary for Latin American Refugees: Biblical Values and the Politics of Repression," but he is interested exclusively in El Salvador and says nothing about Nicaragua. Writing about apartheid, Bishop Daniel P. Reilly of Norwich refers to "the persecuted and the persecutors." Auxiliary Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton of Detroit, however, refers to "the people and leaders" of the Soviet Union, all of whom are equally "our brothers and sisters." Bishop J. Francis Stafford of Memphis does mention Lenin's antagonism toward religion, but quickly cites William Buckley as "the other extreme," in a bad sense, of course.

Even as the Vatican was yanking Father Charles Curran from his teaching post in moral theology at Catholic University, Auxiliary Bishop Richard J. Sklba of Milwaukee drones about "dialogue" and assures us that "the Gospel . . . calls us to listen to diverse opinions." (Where?) And Bishop John S. Cummins of Oakland, likewise a dialogue buff, purrs about "the abundant efforts by theologians and bishops in our country . . . to establish an optimum mutual relationship." (He too offers meager evidence: Theologians supplied "active participation" in several recent episcopal statements.)



Dialogue . . . interdependent . . . respectful mutuality . . . awareness . . . commitment . . . witness . . . community . . . diversity . . . it's all here. Seldom has dialogue sounded so much like monologue.

The book is designed to present the bishops "speaking out," following a "prophetic course," but all the contributors give the impression of wanting to stay on the safe side of what they take to be enlightened opinion. At the same time, they are, after all, bishops, so they can't afford to leave the impression that they reject traditional Catholic teaching; they merely go easy on dogma. Their overt commitment is largely political, invoking Scripture and papal dicta when they can find occasion, though without special insight or rigor.

The main exception is Gumbleton, who is willing to offer hard sayings. He condemns nuclear deterrence as immoral, though he is willing to make realistic accommodations, provided we move away from deterrence in the long term. He frankly admits he lacks an alternative strategy. And one would have more confidence in his judgment if he could bring himself to condemn Communism as forthrightly as Reilly condemns apartheid. □

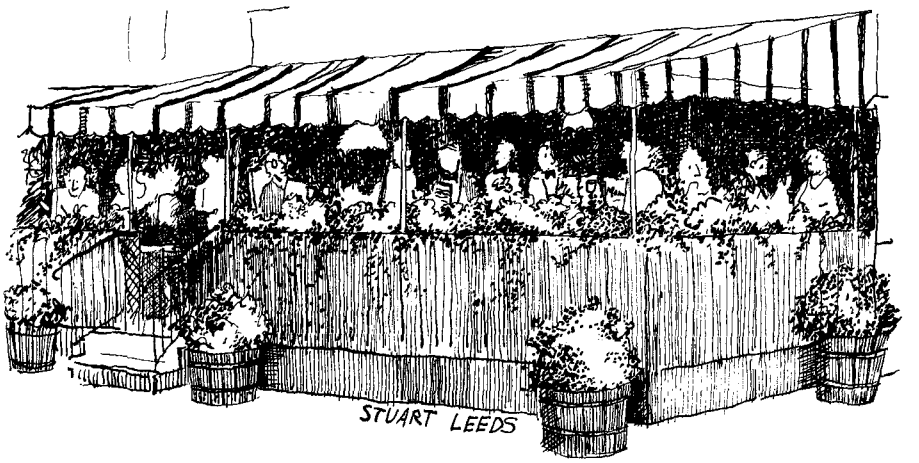
A FETISH OF PLURALISM

David Rooney

An Invitation to American Catholic History, by Martin Marty (Thomas More Press, 221 pp., $14.95)

THE LIBERAL Protestant churchman is an interesting amalgam of contradictory sentiments. His moderation and openness are his marks of distinction, and yet they never quite go so far as to cause him to shed his encrustations of good old-fashioned anti-Romanism. Take, for example, W. E. Gladstone, the Liberal Party leader of the late nineteenth century, who established a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



reputation as an advocate of religious toleration, constantly doing battle in Parliament to extend liberties to oppressed religious minorities—including Roman Catholics—within the British realm. Gladstone's various ministries are replete with land bills, disestablishment bills, even an early, though unsuccessful, Irish home-rule bill.

But let the Catholics of Ireland or England express a little too openly their adherence to the Pope of Rome, and Gladstone was immediately transformed into their most notorious ridiculer. For example, the proceedings of the Vatican Council of 1870 precipitated an astonishing eruption from the great statesman, who felt compelled to issue a pamphlet entitled *The Vatican Decrees*, in which he declared that Rome "has refurbished, and paraded anew, every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused" in promulgating the doctrine of papal infallibility, and that henceforth "no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom."

Now, it must be remembered that Gladstone was a nineteenth-century Liberal, and that it was not unusual for such Liberals to display their illiberal streaks in the most colorful phraseology. One hundred years later, were a mainstream churchman to speak similarly about Roman Catholicism, he would (one hopes) be branded an extremist. But that today's enlightened liberal pluralists use a different vocabulary does not mean that they are any less fearful of papal power and religious triumphalism.

Martin Marty, Distinguished Professor of Modern Christianity at the University of Chicago, is one of America's best-known liberal Protestants, and he is interested enough in, and concerned enough about, Catholicism to write an extended essay called *An Invitation to American Catholic History*. Being an outsider to the tradition he examines, Professor Marty has assiduously adhered to the moderate-men-of-all-shades-of-opinion genre of writing. He is content to offer avuncular advice to his separated brethren, eschewing the fireworks of Mr. Gladstone and likewise taking a different approach from that of his former student Jay Dolan, whose considerably more detailed work on much the same topics (*The American Catholic Experience*, reviewed in these pages April 11) is laced with the bitterness only a disgruntled Catholic can bring to a study of the Church.

Granted, Marty is generous in his admiration of those people who have labored to sow the Catholic faith on American soil: the missionary priests Serra and Kino, Jogues and Marquette; the canonized saints Mrs. Seton and Bishop Neumann; the converts Bayley, Brownson, and Hecker; and many others. And he does not disparage Catholic devotions and symbols, nor does he regard the involvement of Catholics in public affairs as inherently threatening. But then, neither did Gladstone. And neither does the *New York Times*. In fact, there is virtually no opinion expressed in this book to which a thoroughly secularized agnostic could take exception, for the simple reason that the alpha and omega of Marty's religion is not God, but pluralism.

He can rejoice because, in 1984, "the obvious divisions within the Catholic political community and the equally obvious divisions outside it, in respect to legal abortion and other issues, showed that pluralism was healthy." Likewise, dissenters on moral issues are nearest the truth because they "keep the debates alive." And so on. He slides into feminist language to encourage his readers to sympathize with would-be women priests, and he decries any manifestation of papal authority as "old style."

He dismisses as simplistic the analyses of the two sanest chroniclers of modern American Catholicism (Monsignor George Kelly and Professor James Hitchcock) and relies instead on his own all too frail instincts to sort out the good from the bad in the roster of recent Catholic figures. The division is painfully predictable. Good Catholics include the Berrigans, Dorothy Day, Theodore Hesburgh, Monsignor George Higgins, Hans Küng, Rosemary Ruether, and Edward Schillebeeckx. Bad Catholics include Father Coughlin, Joe McCarthy, Pope Paul VI (after 1968), and Cardinal Spellman. And some people (one even a non-Catholic) are so bad they cannot even be named. Thus, Cardinal Ratzinger is only hinted at darkly as an oppressor of pluralism, and Ronald Reagan's name does not despoil this text: He is simply a "candidate" supported by "some bishops" because of "his anti-abortion stand."

What Professor Marty cannot seem to understand (and what therefore renders his effort ultimately valueless) is that his kind of pluralism can only lead to the propagation of that lukewarm sentimental religiosity which sees self-expression as the highest ideal and obedience to the dictates of the Living God as a quaint option for the few who choose it. In a genuinely pluralist society, religious men and women fight to overcome such spiritual lassitude and to secure as hospitable a climate as possible for their respective communions to flourish in their integrity, unadulterated by the secularist agenda. Thus, Catholic hierarchs of all political persuasions, whether a Manning or a Cullen, a Hughes or a Fitzpatrick, a Corrigan or an Ireland, have labored within the confines of predominantly non-Catholic environments to defend the wholeness of their faith and to act as a leaven for good in society at large.

The liberal churchman's anti-Romanism has not changed that much since Gladstone's day; it has suffered from a diminution in eloquence, while gaining only marginally in subtlety. Happily, *The Vatican Decrees*, though a best-seller in 1874, is only a curiosity

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

today. Barring the utter debauchery of critical acumen in the forthcoming century, a similar fate will await Professor Marty's essay. □

THE DAY'S WORK

Jeffrey Meyers

Kipling's India: Uncollected Sketches, 1884-1888, edited by Thomas Pinney (Schocken, 302 pp., $22)

THE 56 short articles in this volume, previously unknown and now identified by the editor, were written between 1884 and 1888 for the small group of English exiles in Lahore and the Punjab who read the *Civil and Military Gazette*. Though local and limited, these "unpretentious productions of a young journalist" offer a vivid evocation of social, religious, military, political, literary, and personal life in northern India in the late nineteenth century. They describe horse trading, training, and racing, balloon flights and railway travel, children, ceremonies, and cemeteries: "In a few more years the remaining slabs will tumble from their setting, and the cracked and riven tombs will settle down into mounds of fern and fungus."

Kipling reports on the festival of lamps and the feast of Muharrum (also described in *A Passage to India*); a small-arms demonstration and a soldier's bravery; the meeting of the British viceroy and the Afghan amir, and (later on) of the amir and the British dentist who draws the potentate's teeth before the assembled court. This selection also contains skillful parodies of LeSage, Defoe, Tennyson, and Whitman; a sample of Kipling's early fiction; and, best of all, Dantesque descriptions of his malaria and hallucinations: "From midnight till about two o'clock you must deal with the delirium of fever by itself, and the second circle of your torment will be followed, as you well know, by a third and a worse." All this material provided the inspiration for *Plain Tales from the Hills* and *Soldiers Three*, which had a powerful impact on English readers in 1888 and created the image of India that has lasted until our time. *Kim* opens in Lahore, and the newspaper office is described in "The Man Who Would Be King."

Kipling's style and themes were formed while he was still in his teens and retained throughout his writing career. The filth, heat, smells, and noise are conveyed with a characteristic liveliness and immediacy. In the stables of a local dairy, "the refuse was blue and rotten below the surface, and smelt beyond all description." A sudden hailstorm clears the crowded streets like a machine gun. "Shaggy-haired camels are nearly as repulsive as their masters." One cart "lost a wheel and sat down like a hen in the middle of the traffic." Kipling combines Biblical diction with technical terms, and his abundant use of native words established a precedent for English novels set in Asia. Thomas Pinney's excellent introduction and headnotes, based on a mastery of the Indian milieu, relate these works to Kipling's later fiction.

Kipling portrays heroes in conflict with the hostile and mysterious power of India, and expresses elemental emotions in extreme situations: action, violence, brutality, as well as loneliness, insomnia, breakdown. His two great themes are the need to defend the fragility of civilization against "brute nature and the barbarian" and the stoic self-sacrifice of the English officials responsible for the day's work. He observes that "Native States know how to manage durbars [official receptions], and to splash color and gold and brocade with proper lavishness," but that the English build "straight, black, sullen, businesslike bridges across turbulent rivers for the convenience of man, and not for the pleasure of his eyes."

In the 1880s, when Kipling first began to write, race relations in India were at their worst, and had been aggravated by the formation in 1885 of the nationalist Indian Congress Party. The young Kipling, born in India, with a public-school but not a university education, physically unattractive, unusually dark, extremely nearsighted, personally insecure, unknown, and aggressively trying to make his way in the world, felt threatened by India and the Indians, and easily succumbed to the prevailing racial prejudice.

He mocks the idea of self-government and the *babus*' talk of India's political future. He maintains that Indians "talk too much and do too lit-

Why are the Liberals AFRAID OF THIS MAN?

While most liberals are content to just talk about the world's major problems, Scott Gardner has gone ahead and solved them, in the true conservative tradition. His book, "STOP ME BEFORE I WRITE MORE," shows how to eliminate poverty, cure cold feet in bed, wipe out political corruption; lick inflation, get rid of roaches, and solve the energy crisis; all without increasing taxes.

In the process of solving these problems and many others, Gardner takes on and demolishes the Welfare State, NASA, Big Government, the Arabs, the Russians, Wall Street, the Publishing Business, the Human Potential Movement, and just about everyone else, himself included.

Livid with rage, one of the largest publishers in the country threatened to sue Gardner for two million dollars. New York City slapped a consumer protection violation on his book—sight unseen. And a New York financial weekly tried to besmirch his reputation with a defamatory article. But nothing can stop Gardner. "STOP ME BEFORE I WRITE MORE" is well on its way to becoming the Conservative underground best-seller. Order your copy today and see why.

Warning: Do not read this book if it hurts when you laugh, if you have just had bypass surgery, or if you voted for Walter Mondale. All others are advised to read no more than one chapter a day.

DRAYDEL PRESS—Department NR-7
36 West 56th Street New York, NY 10019

Please send ___ copies of STOP ME BEFORE I WRITE MORE @ $6.95 ea. for paperback, $14.95 cloth. I will add $1.00 postage. If I wish, I may return book in 14 days for refund plus postage.

Name_____

Address_____

City & State_____ Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tle," contrasts them with their laconic, industrious masters, and remarks: "A flustered native, be he driving or walking, promptly loses his head." He satirizes Westernized "whitey-brown little boys who snivel and wear magenta comforters and sing hymns on state occasions in tuneless falsetto," admires the native crowd that is amenable to authority, and insists that "India could never be great nor prosperous, nor enlightened, till her teeming millions were taught to respect" their rulers. □

DELECTATIONS

PICNIC WITH RUINS

Nika Hazelton

WHAT STARTED me writing about picnics today is a bit of news from the American Spice Trade Association, according to which Americans no longer love the good old bland food of yesteryear. Hear this: We are using 18 million more pounds of pepper than we were ten years ago, 3.5 million more pounds of basil, 2.8 million more pounds of oregano, and 16 million more pounds of cinnamon.

Can there be hope yet for a nation that is discovering that well-seasoned food tastes better than bland food? On the other hand, Italy, which has always seasoned its food well, has plenty of problems nonetheless. In any case, these thoughts brought to memory a picnic, in honor of a relative's birthday, held among the classical ruins of Tusculum near Frascati, famed for its wine and its villas. Sor Mario, the relative thus honored, loved picnics and classical antiquities with an equal passion; and, after all, it was he who administered the family vineyards and olive groves in nearby Monte Porzio Catone . . .

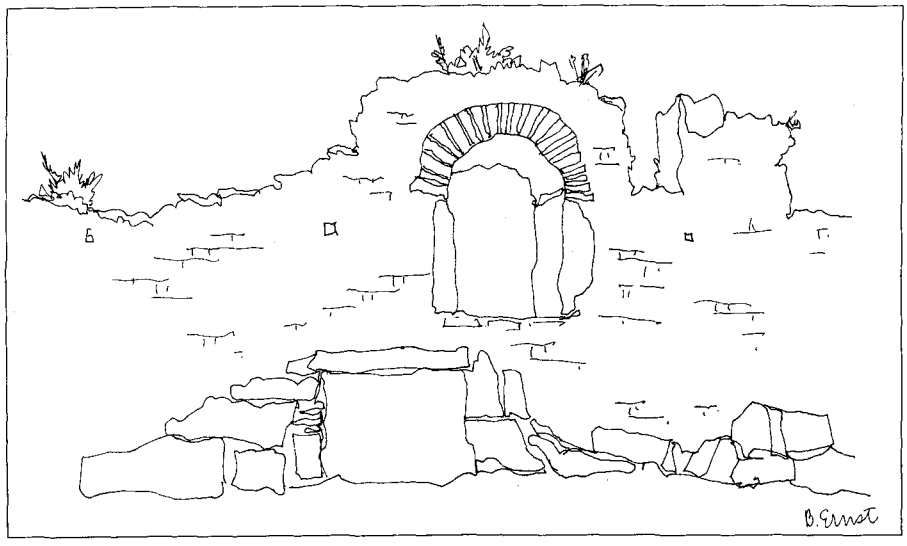
Two of Sor Mario's maids carried the enormous baskets of edibles, while Sor Mario made his two sons carry the fiascos of white and red wine (it was unheard of to drink anybody else's wine if you made your own), along with a couple of bottles of mineral water. The maids did not mind the heavy baskets and were very pleased to be part of the outing, as a change from the monotony of kitchen and cleaning work. (In those days, maids were extremely easy to get in the Roman countryside; these impoverished and not very bright rustic maidens were happy to earn a few *lire* working far less hard than they did at home, where they had to be in the fields all day.)

We traveled by horse carriage to the foot of Tusculum and walked up on the old road, where, occasionally, ancient paving stones were still visible. Venerable oaks shaded us on our way, and in due course we arrived at the chosen mossy spot, which was once part of Tusculum's amphitheater. The baskets yielded a large white tablecloth, the regular dining plates used at home, the cutlery and real glasses, all appurtenances Sor Mario considered as essential as the food. While we toasted my rotund relative with the traditional little glass of sweet vermouth (*il vermouth d'onore*), the maids arranged the food on proper serving dishes. There were cans of tuna fish and sardines, little jars of pickled mushrooms and *caponata*, a piquant eggplant relish—all of these considered essential as appetizers—along with transparent slices of dark-red prosciutto (smoked ham) and thicker slices of glistening rosy salami; stuffed eggs were at hand to fill any gaps.

The main course was a large cold roast chicken; sprigs of fresh rosemary had been tucked under its wings prior to roasting, and its cavity filled with a bunch of Italian parsley and the grated rind of a lemon to flavor the plump bird's flesh. Sliced tomatoes drizzled with Sor Mario's best virgin olive oil (from his own olive trees, of course) accompanied the chicken; the juice of the olive oil and the tomatoes was to be mopped up with pieces of *filoni*, Italian white bread shaped into long thin loaves, which we had picked up from the Monte Porzio baker on our way to the picnic. (In those days, with plentiful help, fresh bread was fetched for every meal; leftover bread was never thrown out but dried for breadcrumbs.) Assorted non-runny cheeses, like Bel Paese, Parmesan, and fresh mozzarella, made their appearance with the fresh fruit—peaches and apricots, since this picnic took place in August, before the figs and grapes were ripe enough to eat.

Dessert was very Italian—anisette toast and sponge fingers and other dry biscuits. (My husband, a man from Michigan, claims that the very dry biscuits Italians love are made from dust and ashes at the Dead Sea Bakery; my palate being Italian, I ignore his talk, and go on eating dry Italian biscuits, while letting him enjoy Fig Newtons and those little marshmallow-and-chocolate horrors in which he indulges from time to time.) We ended the meal with strong *espresso*, poured hot from thermos bottles, and a last round of wine for the grownups and mineral water for us children, before every appurtenance was packed back into the baskets, and we all lay down in the dappled shade to *fare un sonnellino* (take a little nap).

If you want to have this kind of Italian picnic or cold summer meal, experience has taught me that it may be wiser to serve an American drink rather than the vermouth; hosts and guests will be more relaxed. Also, don't use your fine wine on picnics. The wine should be worth drinking, but it should not be an exquisite sipping



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

potion, but rather one made for jolly quaffing. Don't forget to bring salt and pepper with you; bland food is pretty boring on any kind of picnic—or for that matter, at any meal. □

THE GIMLET EYE

THE BLACK SEX WAR

D. Keith Mano

THEY'RE STARTING to think I've got a touch of the tarbrush down on Broadway and 96th. Every month since last May now, I've bought five or six black magazines. They provide instructive reading—if only because they're so similar to the correlative white publications. Some difference, of course, is inescapable. Black men get razor bumps when they shave. Black women wear nut and cocoa brown base makeup. Both sexes are, to a white reader, concerned excessively with hair kink and how you cool it out. Still, for white and black, yuppie and buppie, for *Essence* magazine and, say, *Redbook*, the Jeffersonian pursuit of upscale Scotch, audio equipment, and tight inner thighs is separate but equal. Most text has been written by women to women (no men whatever appear on the *Essence* masthead). And yet, despite this thorough equivalence, one urgent and disturbing matter has, for pure intensity, engrossed all black magazines and set them somewhat apart.

Which is to say: black men and black women seem intent on destroying each other. No less than that. The bitterness of their antagonism is brilliant and deep: it makes any parallel white gender clash look like video badminton by comparison. A woman has this to say in *Essence*: "My basic assumption is that men are damaged. In their own way they're mutants like a species that's got something missing." Black gender debate has, more or less, that sort of elevated tone. A man writes in *Ebony*: "I have found myself and other Black men who are fed up with the attitude of Black women and their money-hungry games." There is historical and cultural precedent for that rancor. It must be seen as inveterate to some degree. Yet this habitual friction has been exacerbated decisively now by the Great Male Drought. One female editor wrote in *Chocolate Singles* (a gazette of buppie life), "Everybody knows you [women] have just gotten to be altogether too uppity for your own good. Whoever said the man in your life had to be sophisticated, educated, or even employed?"

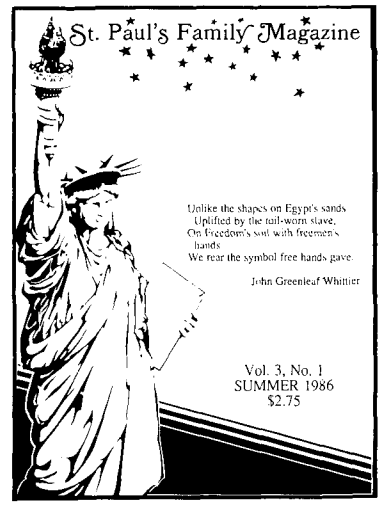
I give you a remarkable statistic: according to *Ebony* and the U.S. Census Bureau, there are 769,000 black women age 25 to 54 with four or more years of college. And just 633,000 men. This reversal (astonishing in a male-oriented culture) began, as most black problems have, with the disintegration of nuclear-family life. Male children, it is apparent, were traumatized much more than female children. The boys left high school: they then took an ambivalent stance toward work, fatherhood, and responsibility. Girl children, on the other hand, seem to have been galvanized by their distasteful home experience. They became upwardly mobile. As a consequence, the male-female estrangement is both sexual and economic: class skirmishing, in fact. Blue-collar black men, threatened and belligerent, resist marriage with more economically adept women. The women, meanwhile, are unenthusiastic about mating downward. It is estimated that there are five single black women for each single black man. Where, you might ask, will the fathers come from?

Not that affluent and motivated black men don't exist. *Black Enterprise* magazine has a mighty urbane purview (and more four-color-ad pages than the Christmas *Playboy*). Evidence recited there is encouraging. The Black Enterprise Top 100 Businesses grew 14.8 per cent in 1985: your average Fortune 500 outfit registered just 2.8 per cent. After women, blacks did better in the American labor force than any other subgroup between 1975 and 1985. But black professional men, as characterized by black women, are overserious, workaholic, and arrogant. They know the male-female ratio is brutally in their favor: they'd rather buy milk than keep that proverbial cow. One woman wrote: "They think money is power; they have a lot of hangups about status and they take it out on women."

Then again, what could she reasonably expect? Nothing has prepared black men (or black women) for upper-middle-class status. The affects and equipment of success have no practical

Why do conservatives buy liberal magazines for their children?

Conserve our culture with *St. Paul's Family Magazine*


St. Paul's Family Magazine
Unlike the shapes on Egypt's sands
Uplifted by the toil-worn slave,
On Freedom's soil with freemen's hands
We rear the symbol free hands gave.
John Greenleaf Whittier
Vol. 3, No. 1
SUMMER 1986
$2.75

This children's magazine is orthodox, humorous, fun, challenging and beautifully illustrated. (A quarterly for children 7 to 97.)

Finally! A quality magazine for children.
National Catholic Register

. . . a well-conceived and much needed Christian magazine of quality.
The Anglican Digest

. . . a journal of Christian culture for young people.
The University Bookman

Send $10 for a one-year subscription to: *St. Paul's Family Magazine*, P.O. Box 772, Fort Scott, KS 66701

VISA 1-800-523-5562 MasterCard

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

antecedent in black tradition. A confident *attitude* toward achievement has yet to evolve. Ghetto success (the drug pusher, for instance) can provide only inappropriate symbolism: "fly" clothes and too much gold at your throat. In this cultural vacuum, a buppie must assume white poses, as the Martell ad in *Essence* will mimic some vague white jet-set environment. Young black men and women were once interrelated by Christian parish life: that was the one acceptable singles bar. But no popular black magazine today has a Christian reference (and the Christian world view, anyhow, is uncomfortable with wealth). For lack of a better formulation, buppies are *nouveaux riches* and sensitive about it. Another generation must come and go before the black entrepreneur can rework his value system and make it idiosyncratic—then transmit that lifestyle to son or daughter as something more than a low-rent version of white *savoir vivre*.

Meanwhile, what alternative can the solvent, energetic black woman have? Although it is (understandably) seldom referred to in black magazines, a racial adjustment would appear proper and inevitable now. As one female wrote, "If there's a chance of getting some of these things in an interracial marriage,

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

FOUNDED IN 1981-82 in Arizona and California, the "Sanctuary" movement is believed to involve 280 churches or other religious organizations and some thousands of individuals. According to spokesmen, its purpose is to provide humanitarian aid to refugees fleeing political persecution by anti-Communist governments in Central America. According to Samuel T. Francis, author of *Smuggling Revolution: The Sanctuary Movement in America* (Capital Research Center, 1612 K Street, N.W., Suite 605, Washington, D.C. 20006-2802; $5), Sanctuary's real interest is in challenging and discrediting U.S. foreign policy in Latin America (El Salvador and Guatemala in particular), and infecting North American religious institutions with the liberation theology of the South.

Sanctuary had its beginnings in the Southside United Presbyterian Church of Tucson, Arizona, whose pastor, the Reverend John L. Fife, publicly declared in 1982 its official policy of offering refuge to illegal immigrants from El Salvador. Southside's example was immediately followed by churches in the East Bay area of northern California, and in December of 1982 Rosemary Smith, a Catholic lay worker, established the Casa Oscar Romero in San Benito, Texas, which, under the direction of a former Peace Corps worker and his wife, processed more than eight hundred immigrants in its first 15 months.

By the end of the year the Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America had succeeded in its task of "[building] a network headquarters for the movement on a national scale"; three years later, Sanctuary had been endorsed by 28 affiliates of national religious organizations. On January 14, 1985, the U.S. Attorney in Phoenix, Arizona, announced a 71-count indictment against 16 activists in Arizona and New Mexico, resulting in the conviction of eight defendants (including Fife) on May 1, 1986. (Three others were acquitted.) According to estimates, Sanctuary in its first two years of formal existence handled somewhere between a "few hundred" and "about three thousand" illegals—not a large number given the state of the border these days; but where Sanctuary is concerned, it is not the numbers that count.

The Reverend Philip Wheaton, Coordinator for the District of Columbia Sanctuary Committee, claims for the movement: "This is a middle-class, white, Catholic-Protestant movement. . . . They are people responding to a humanitarian concern." Certainly Sanctuary has managed to win the support of many people not usually to be found around far-left watering holes. In Francis's words, "It may be questioned whether the rank and file of the movement is entirely aware of the extremist political connections of some leading activists of the movement or of the far-left orientation of some of the groups instrumental in popularizing and establishing Sanctuary"—among them the National Lawyers Guild (an historic Communist-front organization); the National Council of Churches; the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; and the Center for Constitutional Rights, founded in 1966 with the aid of Ramsey Clark, William Kunstler, and Peter Weiss. As Francis wryly concludes: "The interest of the extreme Left, sympathizers or supporters of Castro and the Sandinistas and other violent, anti-American, and repressive movements in Central America and not infrequently associates of Soviet . . . front groups . . . suggests that this interest is neither religious nor humanitarian in any sense."

And indeed Sanctuary is not an ordinary refugee-support program: It does not, for one thing, support just any needy refugees, but solely those from countries with anti-Communist governments, most of them receiving aid from the United States. Moreover, this is a search, as well as a rescue, operation: Sanctuary actually *recruits* "refugees" in their native lands, being careful first to ascertain that the victim is politically educable and can be counted on to make the proper noises once he has been safely transported to his new home. The aim, of course, is to aid revolutionary cadres in Central and South America, while importing the seeds of Latin-style revolutionary zeal to the North in order to further the struggle that Wheaton defines as being "not against one man named Ronald Reagan but against an acquisitive economic system based on the law of gain, the maximization of profits, and the degradation of human beings."

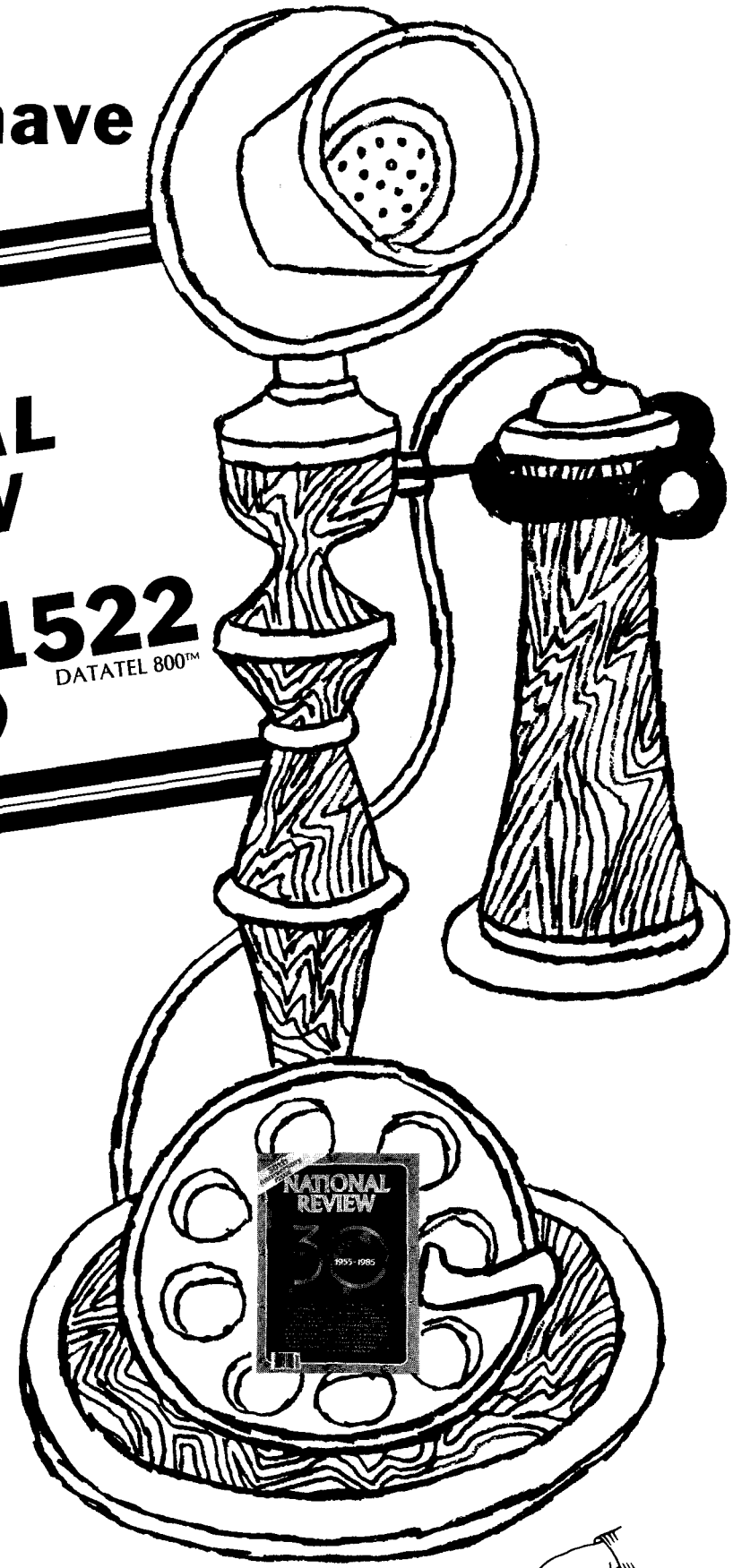
Despite the influence of Sanctuary on those municipal governments from New York to Seattle (not to mention the government of the state of New Mexico) that have declared their territories sanctuaries, safe havens, or simply areas in which the INS will not be cooperated with; and despite the challenge Sanctuary offers to "the constitutional functioning of federal legislation and law enforcement" and its threat of "an eventual fragmentation of the United States that is wholly alien to our tradition," Francis concludes that the organization's most direct effect may be upon "the legitimacy of religion in American culture and . . . the important role that religious institutions have played in sustaining a free government." □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOW all you have to do to

GIVE NATIONAL REVIEW IS DIAL 800-341-1522 (Toll Free)

DATATEL 800™



That's right. To make it easier for you to give full-year gift subscriptions of NR (and who wouldn't appreciate such a flattering gift?) we're providing this new dial-a-gift service at no cost to you—just pick up the phone today and order as many gifts as you want (don't forget the students you care about) at our special gift rate of just $29 each. (We'll pay for the call and all postage and handling, and bill you later—quite a bargain.)

NR makes an ideal gift for hard-to-please people—it's a year-long reminder of your interest (not to mention an indication that you think they are interesting people too). Again, don't forget the young people you care about: conservative ideas are back in style on the campus, so NR should be doubly welcome now.

So pick up the phone and dial that toll-free number.

You can use it to place your personal order any time from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. (Eastern Daylight Time). All gifts just $29 each, for which we'll bill you later.

N.B.

This special number is for gifts only; our operators cannot handle any other business, queries, etc. If the line is busy, wait a few minutes and call again. We're waiting to hear from you.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I say go for it. Why eat cheese when you can have caviar?" And in the personal section, "seeking mate—white single male," "seeks mature attractive white male," "race unimportant." In fact, while our white female-lib movement was alienating white men, the two groups that drew closest together both financially and temperamentally were black women and white men. They have a concurrent interest now. White men do not bring unfortunate associations along with them: the father who left home, the boyfriend who made fun of all female ambition. Ultimately, economic likemindedness and a more traditional view of husband-wife relationships in marriage should outweigh cultural difference. I don't know how significant this shift may be between 1986 and 2000 A.D. But interracial union, at least, will give fathers to a generation of black (or half-black) children. I say, with the lady, go for it. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Death of the Soul: From Descartes to the Computer, by William Barrett (Anchor/Doubleday, 173 pp., $16.95)

A FORMER EDITOR of *Partisan Review*, William Barrett is an intellectual in the best sense of the word: As opposed to the centrifugal, merely analytical, dismembering minds of so many intellectuals nowadays, he joins to his critical sense an integrating mental power that is Victorian in its scope and moral seriousness. *Death of the Soul* is a brief, lucid history of the development of modern consciousness and philosophy, focusing on the progressive "loss of the self in the modern world," and for Barrett this self means a soul: "How could a being without a center be really ethical?" he asks. Barrett is worried about anomie, "the alienation that runs through the whole of modern culture," the sense of man become *thing*. He argues that the ultimate culprit is not science, but scientism: "The achievements in physical science and technology become the standard by which to measure thinking in all domains." Thus *Homo sapiens* is abolished in favor of *Homo sciens* and a sensate culture in which, as Byron wrote pathetically but prophetically 175 years ago, "The great object of life is sensation." In the face of the nihilism of so much modern thought and behavior, Barrett almost astonishes by being a New York intellectual actually in contact with the springs of religion. "The question arises," he writes, "whether the soul, as such, can ever be truly human unless it is seeking God. And on that turns the further question, which Nietzsche was to claim as central to our history, whether mankind can survive as godless. That still remains to be seen." From a man who has been at the very vortex of modernism for over half a century comes the assertion that "ultimately" the alienation of modern life, its anarchic nihilism, "will be healed only if the universe is believed to have some meaning in harmony with our spiritual and moral aims—which means, in effect, the discovery or rediscovery of God." *Death of the Soul* is a distinguished addition to an *œuvre* that is at once critical and modern, pious and traditional, characterized by dignity, precision, and eloquence. M. D. AESCHLIMAN

Nicola Paone
ITALIAN RESTAURANT
"Beyond every horizon, there is something *different*"
—Nicola Paone
207 East 34th Street • New York
(212) 889-3239

Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America, by Kerby A. Miller (Oxford, 684 pp., $35)

WAS EVER a native soil celebrated in such a high order of song and poetry as that of Holy Ireland? There are always those vivid green fields, as Kerby A. Miller says in this magnificent study of the Irish emigration to North America, and "the brown and purple shades of its mountains." There are the rosy-faced children and the white cottages in the hills and by the sea. There are the lakes, the trout fishing, and the horse breeding without equal in all the world. The Gulf Stream moderates the temperature year round. But then there is all that rain, the pervading wetness of it everywhere. The Atlantic side of Ireland gets the most and the worst of it, some 250 days of rain per year, and often with gale-force winds in the bargain. It is inevitable that so much moisture should at length produce blight; and it was indeed a particularly destructive strain of potato blight that was the proximate cause of the Great Famine in 1845, even without bringing into so damp a picture the military and social oppression administered by England since the seventeenth century. So Ireland has always been, in many ways, as lovely a land to leave as it is to visit. In any event, the Irish did not leave the land gladly; and in the general drift of the world's great demographic movements, they must be counted as emigrants against their own deepest desires. This is substantiated, Mr. Miller finds, in the fact that the formation of a strong Irish-American nationalism occurred only after the emigration caused by the Great Famine itself. At that point, leaving Ireland was taken to mean leaving it for good, so that any sense of a truly shared cultural background must now be reformed in a strange land. This was so much the case that it gave rise to the phenomenon of the "American wake"—a wild party given the night before someone was to leave for the United States. As in so much of Irish culture, the American wake was based on the myth of the westering son who would never return to his native land. In this marvelous study, however, Mr. Miller is not so droll as to suggest the supreme irony that the transplanted Irish have become so assimilated in the American experience that they have all but forgotten the still prevailing troubles of that most peculiar land whence they came.

THOMAS P. MCDONNELL

The Stories of Denton Welch, edited by Robert Phillips (Dutton, 372 pp., $20)

DENTON WELCH (1915-1948) became a writer quite literally by accident. On June 7, 1935, the English art student was struck by a car, and his serious ambition to be a painter came to an end. The 13 years of invalidism he had left were used instead mostly to become a prolific writer of novels, journals, and short stories, a hard-bound volume of which is now pub-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lished in America for the first time. A good many of them involve a sexy, mysterious stranger coming to perform an erotic awakening upon a shy protagonist and then departing, like Shane, in a mist of longing. The encounters occur between a bored English housewife and a German POW; a lonely artist and a woodsman; a tubercular young woman and an airman. The slow buildup of these erotic tales sometimes relies on lazy, almost pornographic, formulae. Shirts unbutton on schedule; hairs glisten on command; there's a lot of heavy adjectival breathing. The effects are occasionally powerful, but as often repetitious. Welch's editor finds him to be "relatively free from influences," but other readers are likely to feel their eardrums annoyed with loud echoes of D. H. Lawrence. Welch is capable of remarkable description. Waves on the beach "suck and mumble," and an exploding bomb makes an "eating, tearing noise." His imagery can be witty and exact: A pine tree falls "like a huge guardsman fainting on parade"; a nose bleeds in a "hot meaty rush." but sometimes such virtuosity overwhelms narrative. One wishes the author would stay longer in the social world of plot and manners and ethical dilemma, in whole communities of characters instead of desperate pairs. In a few stories he exhibits a talent for wider demographics without losing the eccentric perceptions of his narrator-heroes: "Memories of a Vanished Period" offers a vision of wartime London both nightmarish and merry, and "Brave and Cruel" is an almost Jane Austenish account of how some friends and acquaintances react to the impending marriage of a local girl to an impostor who claims to be an RAF hero. Welch can be entertaining when his imagination is out and about in the real world, and when he's lowered the flame under his metaphorical pot. One almost wants to cry, as does one of his repressed heroines in an attempt to turn off her distracting imagination: "Stop making everything something else!" THOMAS MALLON

faced the Wehrmacht so that naked women could dance in cages to the beat of hermaphrodite jug bands. Many would-be porn merchants in Atlanta have answered this question in the negative and decided to go to work for Southern States. Their Northern brothers went straight to 42nd Street.

Yet these are all impressions and gleanings. The best way to know any human institution is to consider its fruits. Here the evidence is overwhelming: Non-Southern schools produce the top troublemakers in America, from Tip O'Neill (Boston College) to Ed Asner (University of Chicago), from Jane Fonda (Vassar) to Norman Lear (Emerson). Now, you can find troublemakers from the South (Ellie Smeal went to Duke), and it is true that the snobbishness that characterizes many outer-South schools can be found in Dixie. Students and graduates of the University of Virginia, for example, tend to act as if they were products of the Thomas Jefferson sperm bank. But overall, conservatives must agree that while it's nice to have a Harvard sticker on the rear window, the kids are probably better off at Georgia Tech. □

SHIFFLETT

(Continued from page 47)

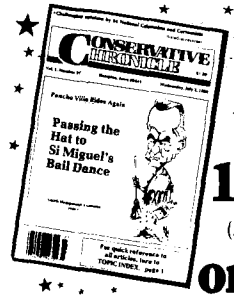
tions lurking near, and consult with them before acting. Before setting up a porno house, for example, a Southerner might wonder if Patton's army

VERBATIM PO BOX 644NR OLD LYME, CT 06371-0644 $14.00 a year
The Language Quarterly
FOR SUBSCRIPTION ONLY: 1-800-372-0400 EXT 3

Call for any current book
● Amex, MasterCard, Visa or check.
● We ship immediately, anywhere in the world. ● Gift wrapping available.
● Mail orders welcome.
BOOK CALL
1-800-255-2665
In CT or Worldwide (203) 966-5470
59 Elm Street, New Canaan, CT 06840

WILL★BUCKLEY★KILPATRICK★HARVEY★SOBRAN★KIRKPATRICK
EVANS&NOVAK★RUSHER★HART★YODER★RIESEL★KISSINGER★CHAPMAN★LAMBRO
★PODHORETZ★JACK ANDERSON★HEMPSTONE★JONES★RABINOWITZ★MOHR★BROOKES★

It's an ALL-STAR conservative cast...
It's New★It's Weekly★It's RIGHT ON!



1 year (52 issues) only $32

NOW, every week receive a 32 page tabloid devoted to 30 nationally-distributed newspaper columnists, with a **conservative appeal.** Most of them have every column published in full. Enjoy, also, a witty selection from over 24 acclaimed cartoonists. Great reading, a handy reference. There's a **TOPICAL INDEX** in every issue. Just **$32 a year** (52 issues). Money-back guarantee in FULL.

Try Our No-Risk Trial Subscription Special
800-558-1244
In Iowa and Alaska Call Collect: 515-456-2585
If not satisfied, just write for a full refund of your money.
Published by Hampton Publishing, a 110 year old independent newspaper company.
CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE
Box 29AA • Hampton, Iowa 50441

Call Toll-Free . . . Or. . . . Return The Coupon

★★★

AMERICANS PRESS THE SOVIET POSITION

NEW YORK, AUG. 25

ONCE AGAIN, we have those big-name advisors counseling the President in effect to abandon his Strategic Defense Initiative. But this time around there are two names not usually associated with the soft school on Soviet diplomacy, Melvin Laird's and, most conspicuously, Brent Scowcroft's. They in effect signed a 3,500-word paper addressed to the President by Harold Brown, who served President Carter as Secretary of Defense.

What is going on?

1. The ABM Treaty concluded in 1972 is variously interpreted. There are those who read in it a prohibition against testing the technology appropriate to the development of a Space Shield (SDI)—the "restrictive" interpretation. There are those (including the counsel for the State Department) who read it otherwise, the "permissive" reading. The question which of the two readings is correct would of course be moot if Mr. Reagan were to exercise his prerogative, which is to call an end to the treaty.

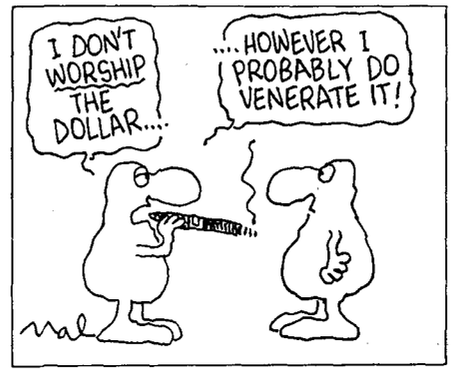
2. For reasons of his own (certainly not for reasons that are obvious), Mr. Reagan has not exercised this prerogative. Instead, he has said he would go along with the restrictive reading for the simple reason that SDI has not reached the point where it becomes relevant to ask finally which of the two meanings of the ABM Treaty is binding. Along come the Soviets, in the course of those endless disarmament talks, with one of those modest proposals they specialize in. Why not, they say, a) accept the restrictive interpretation, and b) extend the treaty for twenty years? It is only surprising that they didn't add: and c) give us the Statue of Liberty.

Mr. Reagan said: No, no. But he did say that he would be willing to guarantee not to deploy any SDI weapon in less than seven and one-half years, but that he would wish to be free to test and develop during that period. The Soviet Union has of course taken the position that Mr. Reagan's alternative is outrageous. In a way, the Soviet Union is correct: Mr. Reagan should not give the Soviet Union what the Soviet Union is hotly engaged in transforming into a veto power over plans devised by America for the protection of America and Americans.

3. The Brown-Scowcroft memorandum advocates a ban on SDI testing for up to ten years. Why? Presumably on the grounds that any precipitate success with our anti-missile technology would destabilize the current balance of terror. But this is one of those orthodox projections we have been following for over a generation: during which we traveled the road from massive strategic superiority, to strategic inferiority.

Two aspects of the Space Shield program stand out. The first is its emancipating vision: the idea of liberating America from threats of massive destruction by creating a Space Shield, as an alternative preferable to blowing up a hundred million Russians. That is the visionary approach, and the principal engine behind the idealistic ascendancy of SDI.

The second aspect of the Space Shield program is its awful vulnerability. It isn't vulnerable directly to Soviet pressure against it. But Soviet pressure hasn't in recent memory been so isolated as that. Soviet pressure equals a combination of Soviet plus American pressure. Now, one expects the fellow-travelers and the soft-headed set to rustle when a Soviet wind blows, but one doesn't expect it of such as General Scowcroft, who three years ago headed the commission that told us we needed one hundred MX missiles for the national security. Of these we have got none. And nothing in political life is more surely predictable than that what is happening—what has happened—to MX will happen to the Space Shield if we put off financing it vigorously (the President asked for a 75 per cent increase this year, got 30 per cent; Brown/Scowcroft want 10 per cent), testing it full-speed-ahead, and moving as fast as possible toward deployment.



Are there conditions under which we might abandon SDI? Sure. If we reached an arms agreement the effect of which was to make it impossible for the Soviet Union to destroy the United States, then there would be no need for SDI. Henry Kissinger has more than once pointed out that the survival of SDI absolutely depends on its immunity from workaday negotiations with the Soviet Union, and a telephone call verifies his continuing belief that this is the case. SDI is the kind of thing one is willing to trade in return for, oh, Lenin's Tomb; or, more concretely, unmistakable evidence that the Soviet Union is done preparing for aggressive nuclear war. Those who argue to give it up before that time are doing the work of the Soviet Union. □

FR. CURRAN VS. MR. BIG

NEW YORK, SEPT. 3

THE DECISION taken by the Vatican to strip Father Charles Curran of his seat as a theologian at Catholic University in Washington has brought on a goodly amount of loose lip, not all of it by any means by non-Catholics. The evening television news pictured one priest who said, I swear, as if he were speaking from the throne room of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, that throughout Catholic history the Church has persecuted its prophets, whose teachings it has gone on, in later years, to incorporate as its own.

That happens not to be true. The great theologians of the Church have battled a legion of heresies, as they came in due course to be classified. It would have been correct to say that throughout its history the Church has countenanced conflicting theological interpretations. What it has never done is finally to opt for one it later rejected. The Church's position on theological doctrine is not to be confused with its position on, e.g., the movement of the planets, the kind of thing that got Galileo into trouble. If Father Curran had taken the position that the moon is made of green cheese, one doubts that the Vatican would have reached over to tell him to quiet

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

down. The Catholic Church is reluctant to incorporate into its *magisterium* (its teaching function) dogma unrelated to the role of God & man. That's why so many Catholics get edgy when some bishops lift their miters and say things on the order of the right minimum wage, the best way to prevent unemployment, nuclear war, etc. etc., wherein they end up sounding less like agents of the word of Christ, than like successors to Eleanor Roosevelt.

Father Charles Curran is by all accounts a very charming man and seductive teacher. It is wrong to assume, as some Catholics do, that he is "for" abortion, "for" contraception, "for" premarital intercourse, "for" divorce. As he has himself explained, the positions he takes on these matters are not directly in conflict with Catholic teaching. He believes, for instance, that the absolute right to life begins after "individuation," which comes between 14 and 21 days after conception. Under certain circumstances, he thinks abortions before individuation are morally excusable. Anyone who went on the polemical road taking this position would be denounced by the free-choicers as an absolutist right-to-lifer.

Still, viewed by the congregation in Rome whose job it is to insist on compliance in theological matters, Father Curran's views were identified as sexually permissive beyond the bounds the Vatican authorizes, and there is no greater authority on what the Vatican authorizes than the Vatican. Given that the Catholic University of America is a teaching arm of the Vatican, it does not really make very much sense to deny the Vatican the authority to define its own orthodoxy. If in the future it should ease its rules respecting, say, divorce, it will elect to do so with some reference to guarding its old vocabulary intact. There is no doubting that it is easier today than fifty years ago to obtain a marriage annulment—except that the Church does not call it divorce, and so hangs on to a useful distinction. After all, you can't both believe in divorce as such, and also believe in the solemnity of the injunction, "What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder."

But Father Curran has elected to fight. His grounds are that the Pope has not formally declared that the Church's holdings on the sexual scale are infallible, and that so long as this is so, it is the function of the theologian to explore the question of which is the position most nearly consistent with the will of God. The Vatican retorts that infallibility is not explicitly needed in order to define a Catholic doctrine: but in so doing, the Church is being understood as suggesting that infallibility is latently there in its traditional sexual pronouncements.

Father Curran will lose this one at CU, and ought to. Whether he would then be free to teach theology at Catholic universities not directly licensed by the Vatican is another, and an interesting, question. He is of course at liberty, even as a Catholic priest, to disseminate his theological lucubrations at any length, though not quite anywhere. A living Church that opposes both abortion and contraception has got a lot of thinking to do about the reconciliation between God's law, and man's ungovernable practices. It is often remarked that the Church is never more resplendent than when defying moral fashion, and this is true; true, but never as an excuse for testing the bounds between the nature God gave to man, and the rules God gave to man. □

WORST SUGGESTION OF THE YEAR

NEW YORK, AUG. 27

THE MOST dangerous, as well as the most pestiferous, proposal of the week comes from the *New York Times* editorial page, and is entitled, "Hold Down Airline Carry-Ons." It is written as you or I might write an editorial on an amenable configuration of a space vessel: i.e., one gets the impression that the gentleperson who wrote the editorial has never traveled on an airplane, certainly not on a business trip.

It begins by insisting that there is a problem. "Flight attendants tell of passengers carrying aboard automobile drive shafts and slot machines, and tricycles with children. As a result, the Federal Aviation Administration is considering a new regulation."

Now we need, just to begin with, to distinguish between those who fly with only the intention of arriving at their destination, and are satisfied to bring on board with them, oh, lipstick, a handkerchief, maybe a magazine or book: all of which can easily be carried in a single ditty bag and stored, as is the convention, "under the seat." But there are others, and for them the airplane is their place of business. If you fly (as some of us do) as much as four or five hours every day, then you do not have the leisure to fritter away flight time on movie-watching or snoozing, pleasant though such activity can be.

There are lots of travelers who need with them on board the entire paraphernalia of their professional life. I (for instance) carry a briefcase. In it are the usual things (passport-type stuff, research material, speech portfolios); but also a toilet bag, customized to individual requirements. Mine includes Actifed, Afrin, and Ayr, without which I contract head colds; an altimeter, to check on the pressurization of the airplane; and a compass. I forget why I carry a compass, but I do, and would know sooner than anyone else if a hijacker had got hold of the controls and was heading toward Cuba while we thought ourselves heading serenely toward Minneapolis.

Then, of course, there is the lap-top computer. These come in different sizes. I have traveled with a Kaypro (about the size of a standard Royal typewriter), an Epson Geneva (about the size of a compact-disc player), and a Toshiba (about twice the size of the Epson). You absolutely need such an instrument, if you are, say, writing the speech you will deliver a few minutes after your arrival at Minneapolis.

Then, of course, there is the third bag, which is roughly designated as one's paperwork. Two hundred unanswered letters, manuscripts to read, copy to edit. For this, one needs a clipboard and a dictating machine. I weigh 185 pounds, clothed. When I step onto an airplane, I weigh about 235 pounds.

Now, the *New York Times* likes to find problems even where there aren't really any, or, at least, not where it is looking for them. It has come up with a new victimized class, flight attendants: "Hard-pressed flight attendants fight ceaselessly to enforce the rules for proper stowage of bulky carry-ons." Oh? I haven't seen these primal struggles on board airplanes. Sometimes a bag tends to be a little too big easily to fit into the overhead bin: So what else is new? One pummels the bag until it fits, no different from sitting on your suitcase until you can snap the lock. And the *Times* finds yet another victim: "Passengers ride in fear that they'll be conked on the head by a boom-box radio or backpack." Oh? Do you travel in fear of being conked on the head by a boom-box radio or backpack? If so, you should be visiting your psychiatrist, instead of flying around in an airplane. I have never seen a boom box fall on anyone in any trip, and the latches in airplanes are altogether secure. If they were insecure, why then the challenge would be, surely, to develop safer locks, not to incapacitate the passenger by denying him the tools of his trade.

THOSE LOOKING for something to complain about in air travel don't have to go into the airplane proper. Consider, rather, the absence of trolleys when a passenger weighing, with his carry-ons, a total of 235 pounds, exits the airplane, and finds he has a mile and a half to walk to the baggage area, or else to his connecting flight, and finds nothing in the area on which to off-load his burden so that he might walk along toward his destination, whistling an ode to the man who invented the wheel, and carrying only 185 pounds of weight. Surely the cost of trolleys could be sustained by providing for advertising placards on them? For instance? For instance, "READ THE NEW YORK TIMES." □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Employment Opportunities

MANAGER TRAINEE: National rent-to-own company seeks 5 growth-oriented, goal-directed individuals for fast-track management. Bachelor's degree and 3-5 years' management experience. Salary plus benefits. Willing to relocate. Send resume: Canyon Rent-to-Own, 4080 East Lake Mead, Ste. B-1, Las Vegas, Nev. 89115.

NR'S CIRCULATION DEPT. needs part-time worker to help out with general office work and mailroom. Duties include light typing, clerical, and book mailings. Some heavy lifting. Perfect after-school job for student not averse to hard work. Flexible hours. Please call 212-679-7330.

Situations Wanted

CLASSY WOMAN EXECUTIVE. High stress threshold. Superior verbal skills. Poised for a new challenge. Will relocate. Write NR Box 4358.

SELF-DIRECTED, INDEPENDENT 49-year-old retired Air Force lieutenant colonel seeks interesting position in education, management, administration, sales, preferably with an international angle and/or travel. German, Russian, Spanish. M.A. degrees. Teacher. Own water-purifier and flower-export companies in Costa Rica. Former business consultant (taxes and accounting). Very strong administrator, excellent motivator, solid writer, loyal, creative, flexible. Résumé on request: Box 262, San Antonio de Belén, Costa Rica (via air mail only). Direct dial from U.S.: 011-506-48-01-68, evenings.

Literary

FREE BOOK SEARCH and new-book ordering service. Sessions Book Sales, Box 9593, Birmingham, Ala. 35220.

OLD BOOKSCOUT locates out-of-print books. Write "Greenmantle," *P.O. Box 1324NR, Culpeper, Va.* 22701-6324.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKFINDER. Send requests to 2035NR Everding, Eureka, Calif. 95501.

EPISCOPALIAN AND FED UP with the trendy liberalism emanating from the Church's ecclesiastical Departments of Prophetic Utterance? Or a "mainline" Christian with the same concerns about your own denomination? For an alternative to the liberal-controlled church media, subscribe to *Anglican Opinion*, a quarterly newsletter that talks back and will help you do so, too. For a year's subscription, send $15 check to Anglican Opinion, 6320 Monona Drive, Madison, Wis. 53716. 608-221-3415.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS: Buckley, Kirk, Solzhenitsyn, Evans, Muggeridge, etc. Send addressed, stamped envelope for list. Partisan Books, Box 549, Iowa City, Iowa 52244.

OLD BOOKS LOCATED. No obligation. Whitted, Box 603-RY, Fairmont, N.C. 28340. 919-628-0945.

Educational Opportunities

UNIVERSITY DEGREES without classes. Accredited Bachelor's, Master's, Doctorate. Free revealing information. Careers-NR, Box 470886, Tulsa, Okla. 74147.

Services

RESEARCH/WRITING. All fields. Confidential. Reasonable rates. Research Service, Box 48862, Niles, Ill. 60648. 312-774-5284.

SCHOLARSHIPS/GRANTS FOR COLLEGE are available. Millions go unclaimed yearly. Receive details by calling 800-USA-1221, ext. 0627.

Business Opportunities

$10-$360 WEEKLY. Become circular mailer. No quotas. Sincerely interested, rush stamped envelope: National Mailing, Box 19759-NR19, San Diego, Calif. 92119.

Vacation

VACATION AT OCEAN VILLAGE on Hutchinson Island, Southern Florida's finest east-coast resort community, in unspoiled, uncrowded Fort Pierce, sailfish capital of the world. Luxurious, spacious 2- and 3-bedroom ocean-front condominiums with panoramic views of ocean and inland waterway; golf, tennis, heated pools, ¾-mile private beach, gourmet restaurant. 45 minutes from Palm Beach International Airport, 90 minutes from Epcot-Disney World. $2,500 to $2,900 per month, 10 to 40% discount for multi-month and/or off-season rentals. J. R. Chewning, P.O. Box 15398, Biltmore Forest, N.C. 28813-0398.

TO STALWART *NR* PROPHETS seeking affordable detachment: erstwhile media-studies professor offers superior lodging in spectacular Rockies cowtown/ski center. For particulars: Owner E. L. Howe at P.O. Box 81, Silver Cliff, Colo. 81249 or Mgr. Peggy Rafferty at 303-783-2354 or 783-9243.

CALIFORNIA—SWISS CHALET at 3,000 feet, with gourmet dining. Private retreat surrounded by 100 miles of wilderness, 25-mile views. Remote location on North Coast (Eureka). One or two couples only. 707-443-6512, 707-444-3144.

DISNEY CONDO FOR RENT. Sleeps six, washer/dryer, pool, tennis court, special rates. 314-487-0184.

TIME-SHARE. One to four weeks. North Carolina Mountains. Own spectacular townhouse; fee simple; sleeps six. PGA golf course, tennis, sailing, riding, indoor/outdoor pools. Sell or trade for equal value in Texas, Arkansas, New Mexico. 512-896-5884.

Music

"BY APPOINTMENT"—Traditionally restored fine antique keyboard instruments. Restoration, repair, servicing. Lessons in playing and tuning. When in Los Angeles, visit our workshop (si vous play!). Carolyn Kunin, 818-761-0857.

JAZZ IMPROVISATION: Over 40 and want to learn jazz piano? Jack Reilly's Species Blues Method will do it. Vol. I, Blues Form, $27; Vol. II, Song Form, $37; Vol. III, Free Form, $47. Postpaid to: Jack Reilly, Dept. N, 125 Prospect Park West, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11215. Recommended by Dick Hyman. Cassette lessons available. Write for information or call 718-768-4053.

For Sale

1986 MEDIAGUIDE. Jude Wanniski's critical review of the print media. Surveys, evaluations, and ratings of the major political economic press, columnists, and reporters. Send $16.95 to Polyconomics, 86 Maple Avenue, Morristown, N.J. 07960.

PLAY SCRABBLE® all by yourself with Monty® Plays Scrabble® Brand Crossword Game. The portable computer console has a friendly personality, 12,000-word vocabulary (expandable), and four levels of skill. Satisfaction guaranteed. Send $99.95 plus $5 shipping to Ritam Corp., P.O. Box 921-C, Fairfield, Iowa 52556 or call 515-472-8262.

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. Invitations to personal relationships must specify at least 3 interests. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: $1.00 per word, minimum 10 words, plus $2.25 for box number. Frequency discounts: 4 times, 90¢ per word; 6 times, 85¢ per word; 8 times or more, 80¢ per word. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 35 days before cover date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address Classified Director, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

BILL ONSTOTT:

Confused Too

I find it very confusing that some liberals in Congress will attack apartheid on the grounds it is a human-rights violation, while in the same breath they offer support for the Communist government in Nicaragua.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IRISH-AMERICAN HISTORICAL GAME, meticulously researched, finely illustrated. Includes 1-hour tape of music, book of ballads, poems, questions, illustrations, large map-board of Ireland, 6 wee elves, much merriment! $12.95 postpaid. Box 127, Belair, Md. 21014.

INDONESIAN DANCE MASKS, $30–$130, request photos, McCoy Imports, Cold Spring Road, Liberty, N.Y. 12754.

RARE HUMMEL. Hum-107, "Little Fiddler." Best offer over $3,000. Write NR Box 4357.

THE AWARD-WINNING Adam Smith necktie—gold on navy blue or gold on burgundy. $22.50, postage paid. VISA and MasterCard. The Decatur Shop, One Decatur Place, North Adams, Mich. 49262-0277. Telephone 517-287-5888.

A VIDEOTAPE: "Business Negotiations with the Japanese." Three experts on Japanese business have put the results of their extensive interviews on videotape. They show you the right way to do business with the Japanese, including the mistakes to avoid. Only $200. Call in California: 800-225-3465. All others: 800-225-6679.

STATUE OF LIBERTY mint stamps. Beautiful, unique, full-color commemoratives from many nations picture New York historical scenes, famous successful American immigrants. $7.50/set. Collection of 10 different sets/souvenir sheets from 5 different countries, $60. Collection of 30 different from 15 countries, $150. NORRCO, P.O. Box 3492, Daly City, Calif. 94015.

HOW TO DETERMINE a Prospect's Mood within 60 Seconds. A valuable, proven technique that gets results when calling upon prospects and customers. Send $9.98 plus $1 postage and handling. Ask for Study #111A, Dych Associates, P.O. Box 12245, Shawnee Mission, Kansas City, Kan. 66212.

Art

ARE YOU A fine-art collector searching for an undiscovered artist with talent? Send for slides to review original work of individual artist. Write NR Box 4359.

Gourmet

VOILA! Classic Louisiana recipes for the modern kitchen. $12.95 postpaid. Cajun Country Cooks, P.O. Box 5133, Lafayette, La. 70502.

ORDER NOW for September delivery of our Minnesota "Natural Grown" Wild Rice. 1 lb., $8.50; 2 lbs., $14.95; 5 lbs., $35.95; 10 lbs., $69. Recipes, $2. Postpaid. Minnesota Wild Rice Co., Route 2, Box 358 A, Aitkin, Minn. 56431.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

ANN ARBOR COMPUTER CONSULTANT, 26, physically fit, Roman Catholic, interested in exercise, music, art, seeks contact with petite, non-smoking, younger woman. Write NR Box 4349.

CHARTER-YACHT CAPTAIN/OWNER, 47, 6'1", seeking trim, athletic woman with a love for sailing, nature, and a non-materialistic lifestyle. N.Y.–Va. area. Photo. Write NR Box 4360.

CHICAGO WOMAN, 29, MBA, pretty, preppie, seeks well-bred, attractive male of integrity. Enjoys cooking, tennis, jogging, theater. Write NR Box 4362.

QUALITY LADY, smart, pretty, happy, enjoys travel, music, art, theater, dancing, humor, seeks tall, successful 50+ man for fun, love, and companionship. L.A., Southern California. Reply with photo. Write NR Box 4363.

YACHTSMAN, youthful 52, 6', 185 lbs., San Diego. Likes classical music, bicycling, fine dining, and coastal cruising aboard 40' ketch. Seeks unencumbered non-smoking lady 35–50 to share above with possibility of long cruises in the future. Write NR Box 4350.

PUGET SOUND. Male Catholic engineer, 32, enjoys outdoors, travel, mental/physical fitness. If you have compatible interests and are concerned about the Harvard study, write NR Box 4351.

SEATTLE-AREA engineering professional and U.W. lecturer is Protestant, tall, and still a bachelor, has interests in books, words, singing, and exploration on wheels, wings, water, and walks. Has goals in Christian reconstruction, seeks fellowship with virtuous, versed, vivacious, venturesome, and tall lady acquainted with grace. Introduce yourself or perhaps a friend. "Virtue is bold, and goodness never fearful." Write NR Box 4346.

42-YEAR-OLD white female, Washington, D.C., area, professional, financially independent, widowed, children, serious with sense of humor; enjoys music, outdoors, travel. Wants friendship and possible romance with mature 38–46-year-old white male. Write NR Box 4361.

ART LOVERS' EXCHANGE: Unattached fine-arts lovers get acquainted. Nationwide. Write ALX, P.O. Box 265, Bensalem, Pa. 19020.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. Write CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets the cultured single, widowed, or divorced acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970—3,000 members. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 215-358-5049.

ART LOVERS' NETWORK connects single, art-loving gentlepersons. ALN, P.O. Box 5106-NR, Westport, Conn. 06881.

AN INTELLIGENT WAY to meet others. For hobbies, sports, correspondence, friendship, vacations. Members nearby and in 80 countries worldwide. Electronic Exchange, P.O. Box 68-N1, Manhattan Beach, Calif. 90266.

Miscellaneous

GREAT BOOKS DISCUSSION GROUPS. Informal, exciting. Classics: Lucretius, Shakespeare, Freud, Nabokov, etc. Manhattan. $45/16 weeks. Starts October. Call now. Evenings 7–9 p.m. 212-324-8564 or 718-896-8374.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. For personal report send sample, age, and $25 to Alice Charlesworth, Box 41, Forest Park, Dayton, Ohio 45405.

DEAR BLESSED KATERI, Lily of the Mohawks, thank you for your intercession. KMKM.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. Write paragraph: begin with salutation, end with signature. Unlined paper. $25. E. P. Hunt, 1242 Goodwin Road, N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30324.

FREE BROWN SCAPULAR and explanation of its benefits to those who wear it, as told by the Mother of God. Send S.A.S.E. to Box 3057, Casper, Wyo. 82602.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH. Send full page of writing and $20 to Elisabeth King, 121 Madison Avenue, 3A, New York, N.Y. 10016.

NEW YORK BABY-SAVING CENTER needs pro-life counselors and volunteers. Expectant moms and their unborn infants depend on us. Send brief bio to NR Box 4224.

NR CLASSIFIED ADS

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER!

Pay for two ads—get a third ad FREE. Advance payment (minimum 2 ads)

Rates: $1.00 per word $2.25 for NR box number

Enclosed $ _____

Mail to:
Classified Director
National Review
150 East 35th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

AD COPY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Japanese religion — 122 192 28 132 168 151 77 14 183

B. Subject of recent *NR* contest — 217 188 46 202 199 21 180 99

C. Monster haven (2 words) — 49 222 91 2 161 20 127 76

D. City in southeastern North Carolina — 47 67 7 175 108 121 216 133 224 96

E. Gymnast's maneuver (var.) — 78 209 44 104 3 194 140 155 131 66 201

F. Reed Irvine's goal — 158 116 26 126 225 45 70 90

G. A jolly home? (2 words) — 181 164 89 68 31 110 137 173 12

H. One kind of cowboy — 97 170 11 56 36 197 111 159 149

I. Hydrated magnesium sulphate (2 words) — 178 169 204 65 33 154 167 112 18

J. German potable (2 words) — 130 54 212 29 160 101 8 80 153

K. Split — 210 179 41 13 86 138

L. Be obligated — 120 195 58

M. Denounce openly — 128 143 118 22 79 176 92 63 5

N. Security for those on strike? (2 words) — 157 69 150 226 174 1 39 52 147 185 17

O. Desirable — 100 142 75 220 187 51 135 32

P. Second lieutenant — 215 166 6 207 23 114 211 85 50

Q. This vessel is not for renters! — 141 40 124 105 4 205 84 214 156

R. A companion of Daniel — 62 198 117 35 83 203 109 19

S. Breathtaking — 98 15 208 136 193 152 55

T. Bonehead — 219 95 43 223 25 144

U. Short songs — 102 196 30 163 184 61 10

V. Exclamation of disbelief — 64 177 129 81

W. External — 146 200 37 123 74

X. Does a job in D.C. — 72 103 148 172 218 48 125

Y. Boneheaded — 113 213 190 27 53 206 73

Z. This requires representation — 165 71 24 42 107 145 182 93

a. Brain passage — 115 191 82 57

b. Dove sound — 119 171 38

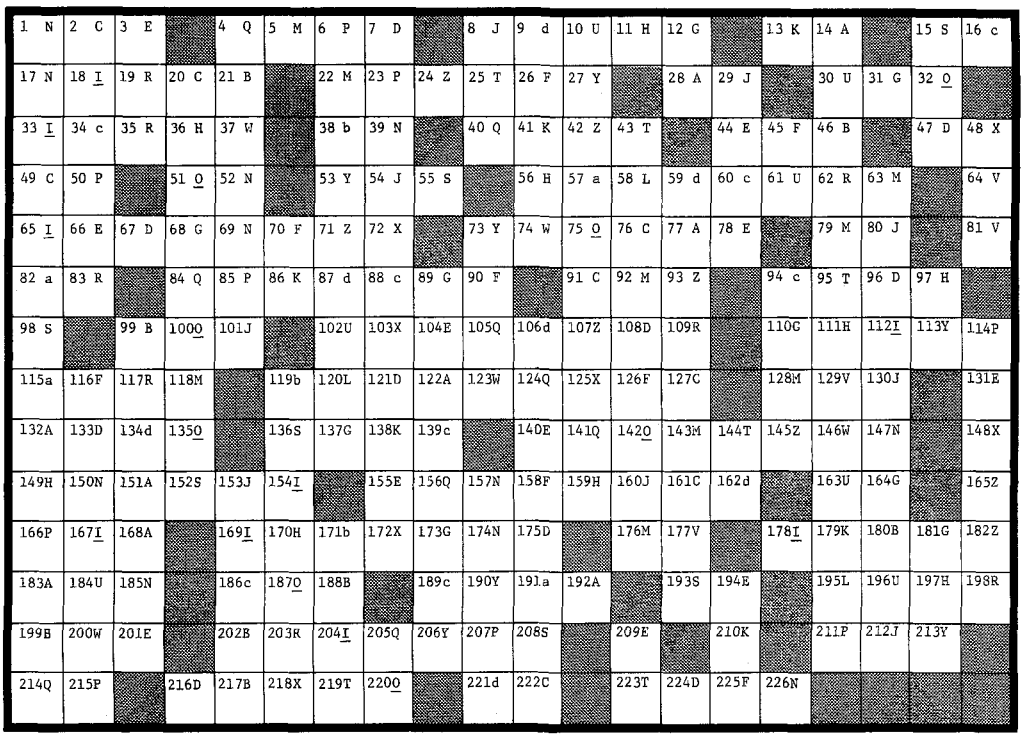
c. Greyish (2 words) — 88 186 94 189 16 34 60 139

d. Advocate of centralized government — 106 221 59 87 134 9 162

DIRECTIONS

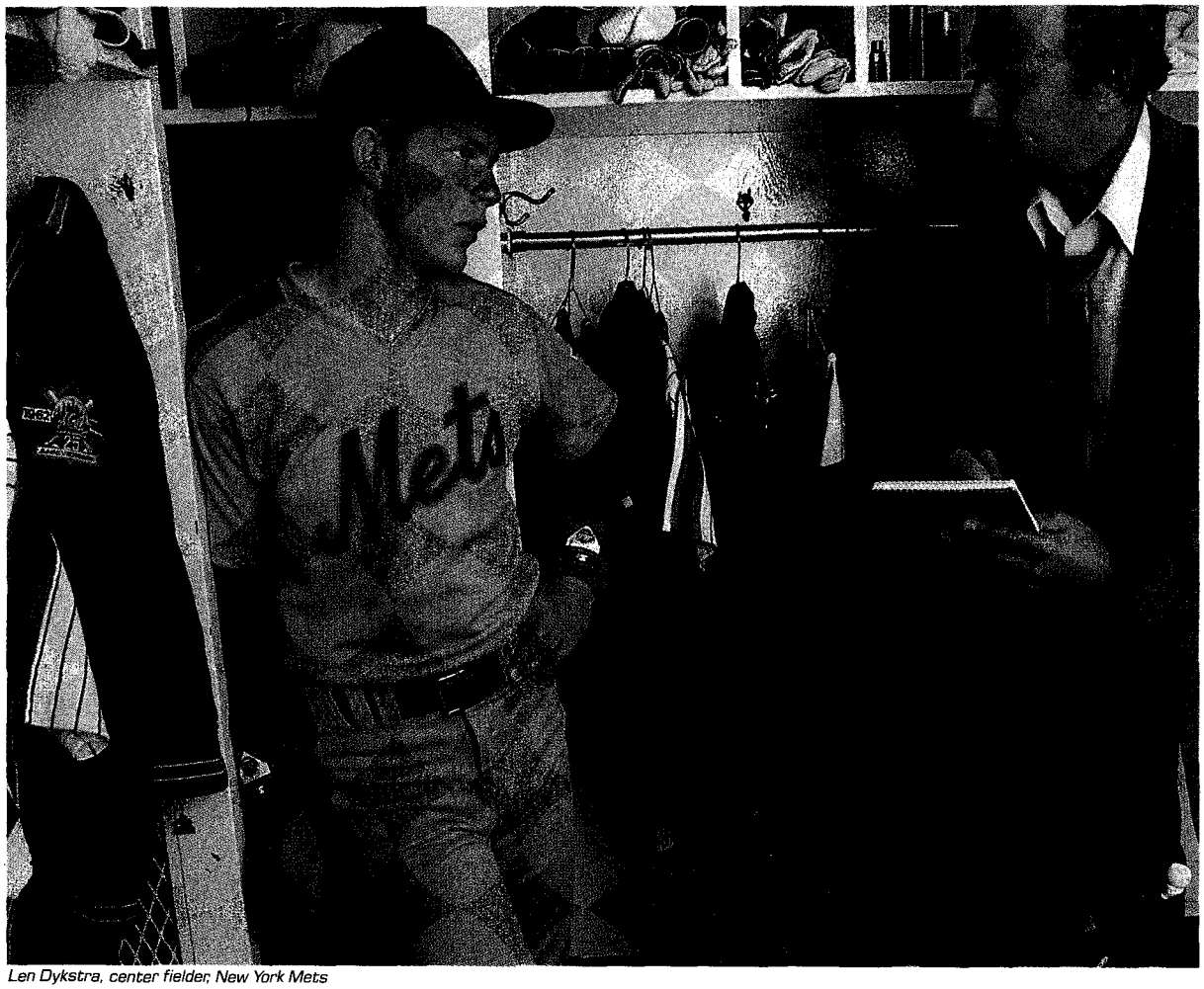
The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 64 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

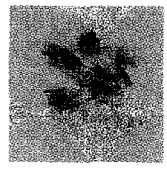
THE ART OF SUPERIOR PERFORMANCE



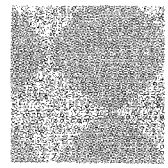
Len Dykstra, center fielder, New York Mets

—VISA® FABRICS, THE MAJOR LEAGUE CHOICE FOR UNIFORMS—

Visa fabrics by Milliken.
Chosen by professional teams
for star performance and easy care.
With exceptional grass stain and dirt release.
Breathable, moisture-wicking comfort.
Outstanding durability. Superior odor release.
Join all the Major League
baseball teams in the U.S.A.
*Choose Visa of Dacron.**
America's Freedom Fabric.



Visa fabric before washing
Shows grass and dirt stains



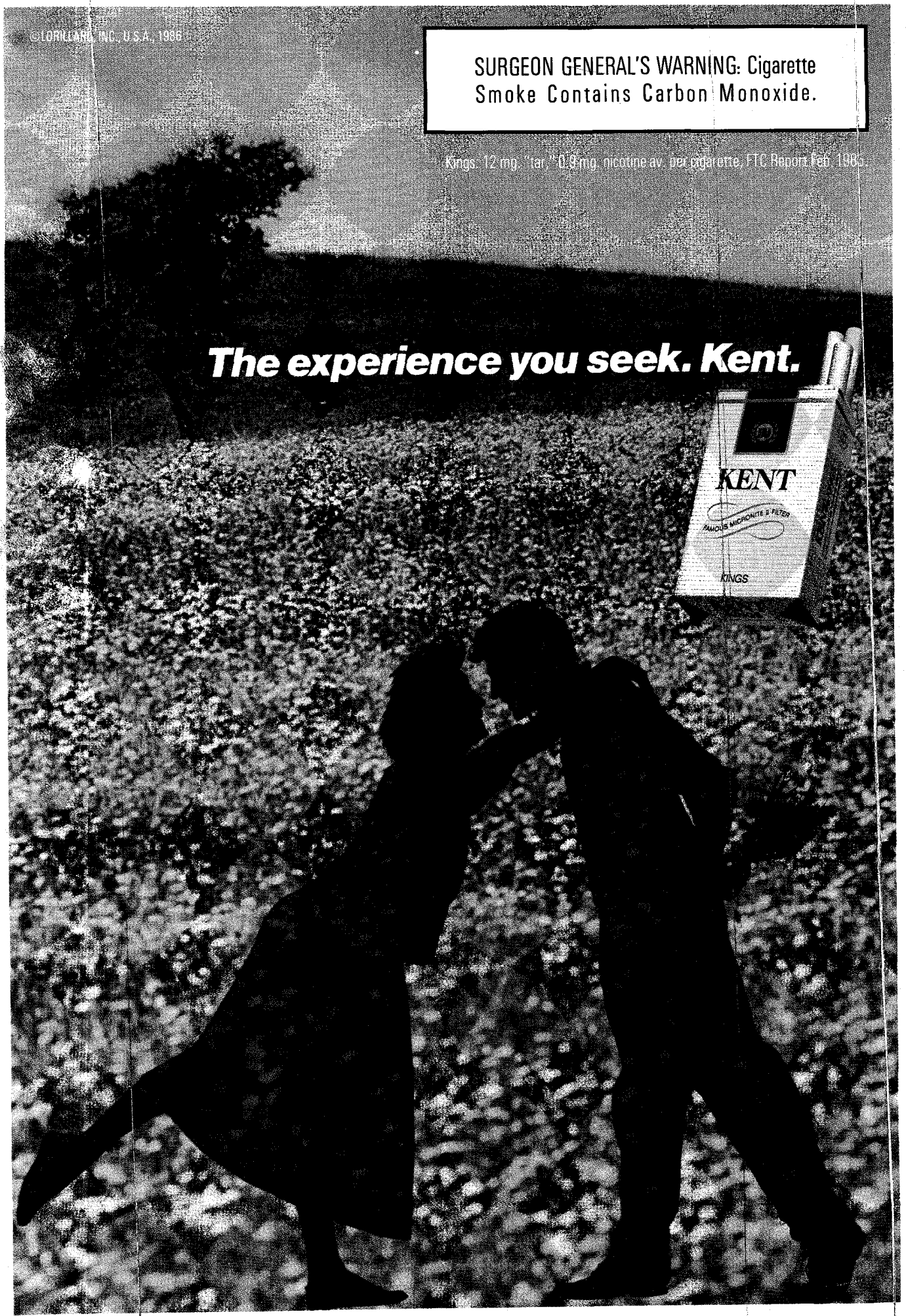
Visa fabric after washing
Stains have been completely released

DACRON® DU PONT POLYESTER

CRAFTED WITH PRIDE IN U.S.A.

Visa® is a registered trademark of Milliken & Company for fabrics.
**Dacron is a Du Pont registered trademark.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


©LORILLARD INC., U.S.A., 1986
SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Cigarette Smoke Contains Carbon Monoxide.
Kings: 12 mg. "tar," 0.9 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Feb. 1985.
The experience you seek. Kent.
KENT
FAMOUS MICRONITE II FILTER
KINGS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED